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ABSTRACT

This volume is part of a series of monographs from Australia devoted to outlining an alternative approach, based on neo-Marxist concepts, to educational administration. The introductory essay in the volume is an argument for the democratization of education by establishing a case for changing schools: by discussing industrial democracy as a democratic ideal, by providing examples of reform in educational administration, and by proposing some possible avenues for action. Accordingly, the first major section of the paper focuses on the role of school members--administrators, teachers, students, and parents--in schools today. After introducing the concept of industrial democracy, the paper provides current examples of reform in educational administration in Yugoslavia, Sweden, the United States, and the Australian Capital Territory. Avenues for action in creating more democratic schools are then suggested for administrators, teachers, students, and parents. Four readings by separate authors follow: (1) "Education and Organizational Democracy," by Henry M. Levin; (2) "Exploring Linkages between Dewey's Educational Philosophy and Industrial Reorganization," by Arthur G. Wirth; (3) "Market versus Mandator: Control Structure and Strategies for Change in School Organizations," by Gunnar Berg; and (4) "An Apprenticeship in Democracy," by Tony Knight. An annotated bibliography is included. (TE)

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ESA844 Administrative Context of Schooling

The Democratisation of Schooling

Hugh Watson

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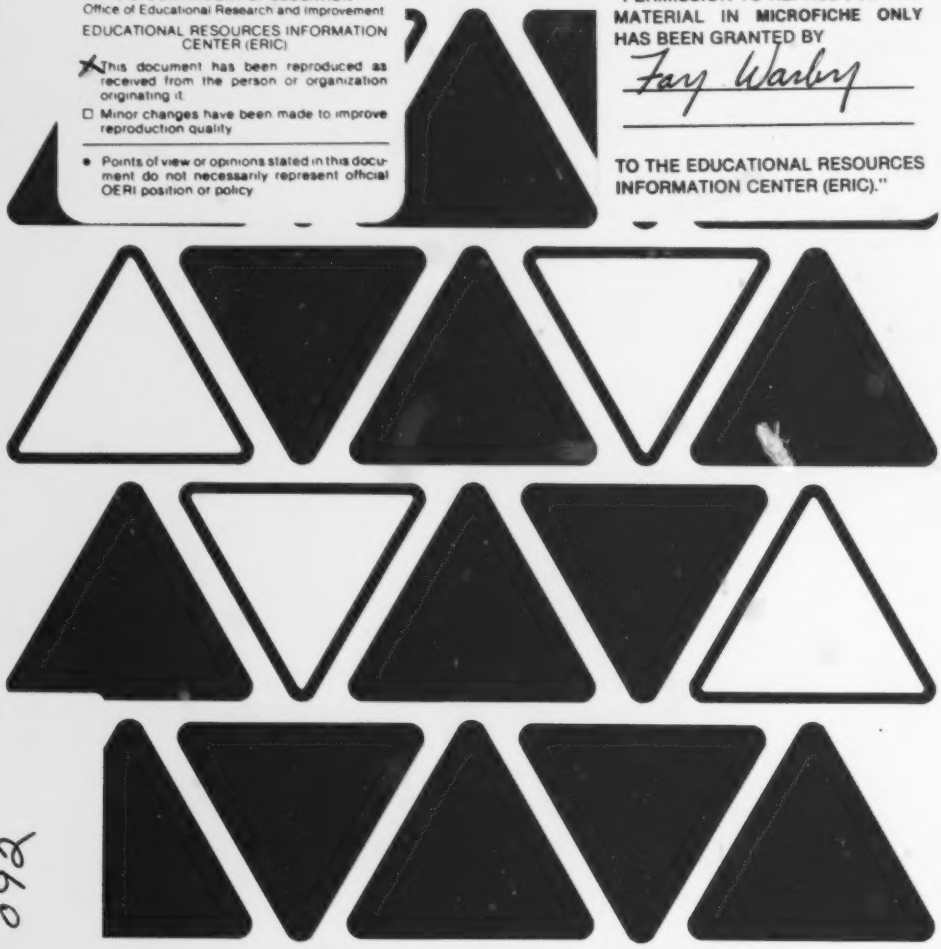

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The Democratisation of Schooling

Hugh Watson

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Course team
Lawrence Angus
Richard Bates (chairperson)
Diana Macmillan (course developer)
Fazal Rizvi
Peter Watkins

Consultants
Peter Musgrave, Monash University
Bill Hannan, Victorian Secondary Teachers Association
Hugh Watson

The course includes:
Richard Bates, *Liberalism, Marxism and the Struggle for the State: Prolegomena to the Study of Public Administration*
Richard Bates, *Public Adminstration and the Crisis of the State*
Bill Hannan, *Assessment and Evaluation in Schooling*
P.W. Musgrave, *Curricular Decision in their Adminstrative Contexts*
Peter Watkins, *Agency and Structure: Dialectics in the Adminstration of Education*
Hugh Watson, *The Democratisation of Schooling*

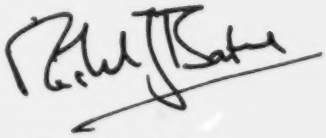
These books are available from Deakin University Press, Deakin University, Victoria 3217.
Further titles may be added to this list from time to time.

Students enrolled in the course are also supplied with a guide to the course.

Series introduction

It is not possible to understand the nature of educational administration without understanding the broader context of public administration or, further, the social and political debate over the nature of the state, civil society and the economy, and their relationships. The series of volumes of which this book is a part addresses these various issues. Beginning with a discussion of the contested relatonship between the individual and the state, the politics of administration is set within the debate over liberalism, Marxism and critical theory, and the nature of the crisis of the modern state. The impact of this crisis on public administration is then examined, especially in terms of the 'new' public administration and the notion of public good. An examination of educational administration follows, as do studies of the administrative context of curriculum and of evalutation. Finally, a discussion of the dialectical nature of educational administration is presented.

The introductory essay of each volume is a digest of current debate and a contribution to it. So that readers may enter that debate rapidly key readings are appended, as is an annotated bibliography of key works in the field. We hope that this presentation of the debate will encourage other to join in the exploration of such issues in educational administration.



Richard J. Bates
Course team chairperson

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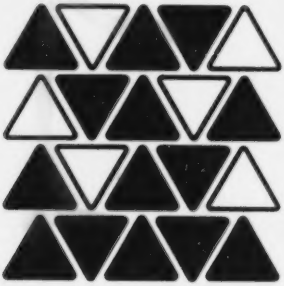
The democratisation of schooling



Introduction

This paper will argue for the democratisation of education by establishing a case for changing schools: by discussing industrial democracy as a democratic ideal, by providing examples of reform in education administration and by proposing some possible avenues for action.

While the main emphasis of the paper will be on organisational changes at the school level, such changes should be seen as part of a wider movement for the democratisation of society and its institutions and for greater societal justice.

Thus the paper is not arguing that the democratisation of schools will necessarily lead to the democratisation of society, but rather that the achievement of greater democracy in society requires that all organisations, including schools, become more democratic.

It should be stressed that this paper is not attempting to tackle the question of equity through educational provision, nor is it addressing the important issue of the democratic curriculum. These issues, nevertheless, greatly affect organisational democracy and the democratisation of education. The annotated bibliography following this paper will provide readings in these areas.

Why change schools?

Reforming schools

The desire to change schools has been a recurring feature of education. We have had movements for universal schooling, decentralised schooling, centralised schooling and de-schooling. We have always placed great faith in our education system as a force for equity, for improvement and social justice.

Implicit in all the movements for the reformation of schools is the belief that somehow society can be changed (or kept from deteriorating) if schools are changed. Yet Carnoy (1975) poses the question: Why bother with schooling at all? His view is that school-system reform is not a source of radical change in the economic and social system: that to change the economic and social system requires projects concerned directly with contradictions in those systems. However Carnoy states that it is not necessary to make the dichotomy between the schools and economic hierarchies, since both are part and parcel of the same system.

Carnoy distinguishes three analyses of schooling and income distribution. The first, the 'corporate-liberal' view, argues that schooling is a significant factor explaining individual income and occupation. Liberal policies therefore centre on the issue of 'equal opportunity' in access to schooling and schooling quality. The Head Start program begun in the United States in the 1960s operated from this perspective, as did the Commonwealth Schools Commission established by the Labor Government in Australia in 1973.

The second analysis, proposed by Jencks and his associates at the Centre for Educational Policy Research at the Harvard Graduate School of Edu-

cation, argues that schooling is not a significant factor in explaining individual income and only a somewhat significant factor in explaining occupational status. The 'character of a school's output', states Jencks, 'depends largely on a single input, namely the characteristics of the entering children. Everything else—the school budget, its policies, the characteristics of the teachers—is either secondary or completely irrelevant' (quoted in Stavrianos 1976, pp. 87-8). Jencks argues that if we want to equalise the distribution of income, we must take political action to equalise income distribution.

The third analysis proposed by Carnoy is his own, and that is that schooling is a significant factor in explaining individual income, but as long as the hierarchical structure remains unchanged, schooling will not be used to equalise income. Carnoy concurs with Bowles & Gintis (1976) who hold a *correspondence* view of schooling. The correspondence view sees the school as a microcosm of the larger society; its organisation and social relationships are held to reflect the economic, political, and social norms of the wider society, and its disciplines and pedagogical routines socialise the young toward acceptance of the economic and social status quo.

Carnoy feels that it is a mistake to suggest, like Jencks, that we should ignore schooling in restructuring society. He continues:

> If we begin to change income distribution through political action, we must also change the distribution of schooling, and especially its hierarchical structure and the way it transmits knowledge, or else we will not change one of the important factors contributing to the old structure of income . . . People can work outside the schools for change—political action for a more equitable income distribution and changes in relations of production—and at the same time support similar reforms initiated inside the schools.
>
> (Carnoy 1975, p. 370)

The argument for democracy in schools, therefore, has as a premise the need to introduce democracy in all of society's institutions and greater economic democracy to society at large.

The roles of school members

In order to put forward an argument on changing the nature of schooling, and therefore the nature of the roles played by school members, it is necessary to consider the roles that school members currently play. The roles of administrators, teachers, students and parents in schools will be discussed.

The roles of administrators in schools

The principalship today is a demanding role as the principal seeks to balance the demands of students, teachers, parents and the state. The greater the demands from outside the school, the more likely it is that the principal will be concerned with organisational matters, and the more likely it will be that bureaucratic norms will be reinforced in the school.

Wolcott (1973) observes that the principal is not an agent of change but rather a monitor for continuity. Morris et al. (1981) describe the interac-

tive, fractionated and piecemeal character of the principal's job. Principals spend a great deal of time interacting with others, but many of those interactions concern issues of discipline, school finance, and general administration, rather than curriculum or staff development issues. They are thus being forced into the role of manager rather than educational leader.

Increasingly, it seems we must use the term 'management' if we wish to have any validity in the educational world. Today we have classroom management, behaviour management, budget management, personnel management and educational management, just to name a few terms. One could interpret this terminology as educators being catholic in their use of the word. I think, however, that it demonstrates something more fundamental. Many educators, and especially educational administrators, believe that valid concepts can only come from the managerial literature. Managerial theories are often accepted without due consideration of the very different organisational context of the school.

When Morris et al. (1981) compared the behaviour of U.S. school principals with managers in the light of Mintzberg's categories of managerial performance, they found great variation between principals and managers. For example, managers spend 60 percent of their time at scheduled meetings, while principals spend only three percent. Managers spend 10 percent of their time at unscheduled meetings while secondary principals spend 76 percent. The percentage time spent by managers on the activities of the mail, telephone, scheduled meetings, unscheduled meetings and the tour, corresponds much more with the figures provided by Pitner & Ogawa (1981, p. 51) on the activities of superintendents.

Thus, while the managerial theory was useful in looking at *some* of the principal's tasks, the managerial practice did not correspond greatly with principalling.

In looking at some studies of the principalship (Wolcott 1973; Edwards 1979; Peterson 1977–78; Howell 1981; Croft 1968; Morris et al. 1981; Ogilvie 1977), a picture emerges of a job that is characterised by brevity, variety and fragmentation. Too much is demanded of the principal, and the result is that the principal relies more on reinforcing existing norms than questioning them or even seeking new alternatives. The more that is demanded of principals, the more likely it is that they will become isolated from their faculty, and the less likely it is that the tasks of educational leadership in the school will be done effectively.

The roles of teachers in schools

After reading the literature on teachers and the job of teaching, one gets a picture of a group of workers, not really regarded as professionals, who band together for wage increases and improvement in conditions of employment, but demand separation and individual action when it comes to the job of teaching.

The recruitment, education and socialisation of teachers emphasises security, conservatism and maintenance of the status quo. Lortie (1975)

maintains that teaching as service is more likely to appeal to people who approve of prevailing practice than to those who are critical of it. The socialisation of future teachers begins when they enter their undergraduate program. One aspect that particularly stands out is the training emphasis evident in teacher education institutions. This predominates over the liberal education emphasis of other degree programs. Because teacher trainees are thrust into potentially demanding and often challenging situations in their teaching practice, their demand is for quick answers to immediate problems rather than questions that require critical thinking about why they are teaching and what should be taught. Some teacher-education institutions respond by offering competency-based training programs that are producing 'the one right answer' generation in teacher education.

Two major forces operate upon teachers during the initial teaching experience after graduation. In the classroom, because full responsibility is assumed from the first day, teachers assemble practices consistent with their own experience in school and their own personality (Lortie 1975). In the school, the forces of bureaucratic socialisation are strong. Hoy & Miskel (1978) say that schools almost immediately begin to mould neophytes into roles devised to maintain stability, to encourage subordination and to promote loyalty to the organisation.

Teachers have limited career opportunities and are generally oriented toward the classroom rather than toward the school as a whole. Typically, they do not gain great satisfaction from being organisation members. Much of the evidence on teachers' attitudes portrays them in Presthus's terms (1958) as being ambivalent about the organisation's goals.

Marjoribanks (1977) maintains that the critical intrinsic rewards of teaching flow from effective communication with students. He found that teachers' feelings of self-esteem and sense of worthwhile accomplishment were associated with attitudes emphasising that teaching should be directed at the individual needs of children. Wolcott argues similarly:

> Consistent with their ideological preference for professional autonomy and individualism, teachers recognise that their authority derives not from the organisational structure of education but from their instructional and managerial capabilities in the classroom.
>
> (Wolcott 1977, p. 165)

The psychological freedom for teachers in schools is found in the classroom, where they are generally free from supervision and have a great amount of personal autonomy. Outside the classroom, teachers have much less autonomy and are subject to the control of others. It is for that reason that teachers often do not see themselves as organisational members. Their job is in the classroom, and it is there that they receive their rewards and satisfaction. As organisational members they have much less status than they do as autonomous professionals in classrooms. They may, therefore, be uncommitted to the organisation's goals because they see the goals of the organisation as not affecting what they do in the classroom. Hence the description of teachers as being ambivalent about the organisation's goals.

Teachers generally relate to others in the school from a classroom-oriented perspective. Their relationships with those others will be affected by how much the teacher perceives the other is attempting to interfere with or help the classroom-teaching situation. Corwin (1969) sees a tension between the bureaucratic demands of the organisation and the professional demands of teachers that manifests itself in conflict between teachers and administrators. Ogilvie & Sadler (1979) found in Queensland that authoritarian principals planned the work of the school and teachers allowed them that right.

While teachers' relations with administrators are often conflictual and generally subservient, their relations with their peers are different. Wolcott (1977) claims that to protect their own cherished autonomy, teachers must respect the autonomy of their peers. As a result they are singularly careful not to exercise authority over their peers beyond that absolutely demanded by the formal organisational structure. Wolcott (1977), tongue partly in cheek, writes:

> The ideal authority structure of teachers is, I believe, so 'flat' that most teachers would approve the suggestion that *every* capable full-time teacher, rather than just one from each district or state, should be honored as 'teacher of the year'.
>
> (Wolcott 1977, pp. 166)

In their relations with parents, teachers are caught in an anomalous position. They need the support of parents to affirm their own authority, but they resent parental influence in what they regard as their 'turf'. Lortie (1975) sums up the desire of the teachers as wanting the parent to be a 'distant assistant'.

In sum, the recruitment, education and socialisation of teachers emphasise conservatism and maintenance of the status quo. Teachers generally seek their rewards in the classroom rather than as organisation members and teachers' relations with others are from a classroom-oriented perspective which may limit their potential contribution as organisation members.

The roles of students in schools

The argument so far is that schools are characterised by hierarchical decision making and inherent conflict, that administrators have too many demands made upon them which result in their supporting the status quo, and that teachers act only as limited professionals whose needs as organisational members are not being met. It should not seem surprising therefore that students' needs are also not being met by the present schooling system. Schools are reproducing some of the worst aspects of society: hierarchy, conformity and authoritarianism. The education that students receive in schools does not encourage them to take greater control over their lives; instead, it represses their initiative and inhibits their freedom.

In newpapers, periodicals and education journals one reads of increasing violence and decreasing scholastic achievement among youth, of discipline being rated the major concern that parents have about schools, and of how students are failing in school and in life because schools have failed students.

One of the problems of looking at research data on students in schools is that often the alarming facts are emphasised, leading one to forget the many students who are passing through the schooling process without drugs, violence or discipline problems. They are, however, receiving an education—the planned one in various disciplines and another through the hidden curriculum that emphasises conformity, hierarchy and non-participation.

The report, *Year 10 Students' and Recent High School Leavers' Views of ACT High Schooling*, that was prepared by Adrian Fordham and Janet Hunt from the ACT Schools Authority's Evaluation and Research Section as part of their High School Review, provides some interesting information on students' views of schooling.

Looking at staff-student relations the researchers found that students want teachers who have good interpersonal skills, are patient, helpful, and treat students with respect as maturing young people. But students require somewhat more than this from teachers. They want teachers to set out clearly the behavioural and academic expectations they hold for students and to be consistent and fair in ensuring those expectations are met. They also want teachers to use teaching methods that will engage students in tasks that they find interesting and rewarding and in which there are opportunities for them to learn to co-operate together. In addition, students want teachers to explain things clearly and help them understand the work.

At present it seems that students are not altogether satisfied that relations between teachers and students are as they would like them to be. Although most students said they got on well with most teachers most of the time, students thought that the aspect of teaching which most needed improvement was teachers' ability to relate to students as young adults. Secondly, of the changes to high schools which Year 10 students wanted to see, changes in teaching methods and better teacher-student relationships were the most frequently mentioned.

The report mentions that teachers also see this area as one which causes them concern. Among the most frequently mentioned problems which teachers said they faced were difficulties with student discipline and behaviour, student motivation and dealing with problems and dilemmas students face arising from social and economic changes.

Another aspect of the study looked at whether students felt that the programs they were involved in were based on the notion that when they left school they would have to act autonomously and effectively.

The students who had gone on to secondary colleges believed that high schools needed to prepare students better for independent study and for the wise use of freedom. At the same time, they wanted high schools to make them work hard and achieve high standards so that they would not find the work expected of them at college too difficult. They particularly wanted high schools to help them develop better study skills, especially in planning and writing essays and to foster in them more self-motivation, self-direction and self-discipline. The young people who had gone on to

TAFE were also critical of high schools for not giving them sufficient experience of self-responsibility, an aspect of their TAFE experience which they were appreciating.

In two senses, students' competence in dealing with others as adults and their own need for self-direction and capacity to act independently, students felt high schools could have done more for them. At a different level, they also felt they needed skills to negotiate their way through the everyday aspects of adult life—filling in forms, understanding taxation, renting, buying and so on, as well as being able to cook, sew, do basic carpentry and other household jobs.

Fordham & Hunt (1984) conclude that students, like parents and teachers, want an ordered environment in which to learn. Yet, they also seek more 'freedom' and less authoritarianism. This is not inconsistent. 'Freedom' is not synonymous with chaos, quite the reverse.

A number of writers argue that schools alienate students. Wynne (1978) claims that the increasing violence to self and others in schools is symptomatic of increasing youth alienation.

Anderson (1974) uses Seeman's (1959) components of alienation to describe alienation in schools.

Anderson's components of alienation in schools are:

1 Powerlessness: A low expectancy of ability to determine or control outcomes or reinforcements sought in the school.
2 Meaninglessness: A low expectancy of ability to make satisfactory predictions about the future outcomes of behaviour in the school.
3 Misfeasance: An expectation that the use of means which are prescribed by school authorities is necessary in order to attain goals desired by the student.
4 Futility: Assignment of low reward value to goals and beliefs that are (typically) highly valued by school authorities.
5 Self-estrangement: Participation in school and school-related activities is based largely upon anticipation of future rewards, rather than upon rewards inherent to participation—such as pleasure or satisfaction.

I think Anderson's is a good delineation of students' alienation. Anderson tested a relationship between bureacracy and alienation and found that student alienation from school was related to school bureaucratisation. He connected that finding to earlier research by Punch (1969) who found that school bureaucratisation is related to the way school principals behave. Anderson concluded that school principals who choose to do so could reduce student alienation from school by modifying the organisational structure of their schools and classrooms.

Anderson (1974) also reported that students of low socio-economic status seem to attend more highly bureaucratised schools than do students of high status. He suggests that the poor achievement of the students with low socio-economic status in school may be partially due to the way schools are run and not just to background characteristics. Concomitantly Edwards (1979) asserts that the labour market is segmented, and women, Aboriginals and

other minorities are disproportionately represented in the poorer paid secondary labour market where there is close supervision and less discretion for workers. Thus the discrimination begun at school continues into the workplace, because transfer from the secondary to the primary labour market is restricted to those with the necessary skills and attitudes gained in school.

Anderson (1974) believes that less bureaucratic modes of school organisation may produce higher levels of achievement by the pupils and enhance their moral development. That reasoning is supported by Schmuck & Schmuck, who claim that:

> Students who feel that they can influence other students, their teacher, and the activities in their classrooms feel good about themselves, feel good about school, and achieve at levels consonant with their abilities (Schmuck 1966). Unfortunately, student influence depends a great deal on the teacher's behaviour and the structure of the curriculum . . . Students who feel powerless and unable to make a personal mark upon their classes tend to be unhappy with school and usually do not perform up to their intellectual capacities as indicated by I.Q. scores.
>
> (Schmuck & Schmuck 1974, pp. 108–9)

Schooling is generally preparing young people for their future roles in society. Unfortunately that society is becoming increasingly violent and increasingly self-oriented rather than community-oriented. Many schools reflect that society. The organisations in which people work can alienate their workers because of the powerlessness they experience and the meaninglessness of the work. Schools as organisations reflect those organisations. Students, like workers, can feel outside themselves in their work. Schooling can thus be an alienating experience for students.

The roles of parents in schools

Many discussions on the role of parents and the community in schools focus on the question of 'Who should control schools?' I believe that this is too narrow a focus. Schools, in their attempt to pass on selected aspects of the culture to students, face the problem that in a pluralistic society there can never be a true consensus of values and thus educational decision making will produce conflict because of its political nature. The question of control is therefore better discussed in terms of how much control each group with a stake in the school should have, over which areas and by what means.

Certainly one of the most topical issues in education throughout Australia is community participation in schools. In Victoria the development of school councils has greatly increased the role of parents in schools. A 1983 memorandum to members of the school community from Robert Fordham, the Victorian Minister for education states:

> The School Council is to be seen as the body which finally represents the school. It is the forum where information concerning the whole school is exchanged and where local decisions, including decisions on educational policy made within the overall framework of State education, will be determined.

Similarly in the ACT there have been moves to give greater responsibility to school boards. It is interesting that these moves have brought two worthwhile principles into conflict. These are the right of workers to make decisions about their working lives, and the right of parents to be involved in decision making as it affects the education of their children.

The particular case in point is the selection of principals which teachers believe should be the province of teachers through peer assessment panels. The ACT Schools Authority and some school boards maintain, on the other hand, that boards have a role to play in the selection of principals. The situation has been resolved through the participation of one board member in the selection process, but it does highlight the anomalous role of parents in schools—they are not school members in the sense of having a full-time commitment to the school. Yet they have a right to be involved in decisions that affect their children's future.

Research by Collins (1981), and others, reveals that ex-high school students and adults who had close contact with young people in the post-school transition years were concerned about schooling.

> Respondents were unhappy about the school as a place in which young people spent a large proportion of their time in their growing up. They wanted disciplinary practices which were appropriate to the needs of those who had to learn the self-discipline and sense of responsibility required of them in adult life rather than simple obedience of rules. They were concerned about the difficulty schools had in treating students as persons . . . about the failure of schools to help with self and interpersonal awareness, and about the lack of friendly contact between students and staff.
>
> (Collins 1981, p. 7)

In another study of parental and student ratings of secondary school goals (their opinion of the importance of each goal, and how well the school with which they were associated achieved the goal), Collins & Hughes (1978) found that these groups ranked reading and mathematics as most important, and they felt that the schools were teaching these subjects well. Practical goals, personal autonomy goals, and societal awareness goals were, however, seen as important but neglected. Collins (1982) recommends that in order to change schools there is a need for progressive educators to work with parents in order to expand their awareness of what can be.

Research in the United States indicates that many parents do not participate in educational decision making because they see it as the province of professionals, because they are not aware of the avenues open to them, because they have not been encouraged to participate, because they generally believe schools are doing a good job, and because their attempts to participate have often ended in acrimonious disputes with administrators and teachers (Tucker & Ziegler 1980; Firestone 1981; Roper 1977).

In Australia a growing demand for greater community participation in educational decision making on the part of some politicians, some educational authorities and some parents is gaining media attention but it remains to be seen whether the majority of parents will want to demand

such access. What is certain is that the present means for parental participation do not entirely meet their needs, and the community pressure has unsettled teachers and possibly made them somewhat defensive.

Summary

In the day-to-day experience of both adults and students, both society and schools are undemocratic. One manifestation of that in schools is bureaucracy. That produces the undesirable effects of hierarchical decision making and inherent conflict, neither of which contribute toward organisational health or personal growth. The prevailing 'managerial' mode of educational decision making increases the distance between principals and their faculties, and makes schools operate more like factories. The inability of teachers to find satisfaction outside their classrooms is a result of their training and socialisation which emphasises conformity and maintenance of the status quo. This results in teachers being ambivalent about the goals of the school. Students can be alienated by schooling and one manifestation of this is growing violence against themselves and others. Parents and the community have had a restricted role in educational decision making because their role in that process has not been clarified. It can therefore be argued that schools must be changed, and that change should be part of a movement in society to give people greater control over their lives.

If one is concerned about the undemocratic nature of society and the equally undemocratic nature of schooling, then democracy in schools offers a possible direction for change. If the organisational structure of schools can become less bureaucratic, if administrators are not continually pushed to take managerial stances, if teachers can expand their organisational role beyond the classroom to participate in organisational and educational decisions, if students can find some meaning for their being at school with a consequent reduction in their alienation, and if parents and the community can be encouraged to participate in a constructive way in the life of the school, then surely schools will be better places and society will benefit from the new perspectives of the school participants.

Industrial democrary: The democratic ideal?

In order to improve the working lives of school members and to create an organisational climate that encourages educational and societal democracy, changes in the nature of schooling are needed.

Industrial democracy is a concept that has achieved considerable prominence in business, administration and educational literature. Sometimes called organisational democracy, it refers to 'the influence and participation of workers in matters pertaining to their work situation' (Abrahamsson & Brostram 1979, pp.iii-iv). The second section of this paper will explore this concept as a possible direction for educational reform.

Horvat (1980), writing on the ethical foundations of self-government, provides us with a perspective on the view of human nature held by advocates of industrial democracy. Rejecting religious and utilitarian visions

of human nature as implying fundamental alienation, Horvat advances a humanistic perspective of humans focusing on themselves, on their generic being, on humankind. Describing the humanistic perspective, Horvat states:

> . . . persons are economically, politically and socially free. The traditional distinction between egoism and altruism—reflecting the inimical confrontation of the individual and the society—loses its meaning . . . Thus, a precondition for the complete development of personality is that everybody else has the same chance; I can live my human life fully only if everybody else does the same.
>
> (Horvat 1980, p. 11)

Horvat notes a universal quest for justice in societal affairs and claims that freedom, equality and solidarity are necessary conditions for societal justice. A further examination of Horvat's elements of societal justice will help to further clarify both the meaning and the purpose of industrial democracy.

Freedom, or liberty, according to Laski (quoted in Horvat 1980), has three aspects. *Private liberty* is the opportunity to exercise freedom of choice in those areas of life where the results of an individual's efforts mainly affect that individual. Religious freedom and adequate legal protection are two illustrations. *Political liberty* means effective participation in the affairs of the state. *Economic liberty* consists in a secure and reasonable income. All three aspects have significance for industrial democracy, although private liberty is the aspect most closely related to Abrahamsson's definition above. It should be noted, however, that solidarity is just as important an element of industrial democracy as private liberty. Overt individualism does not correspond to private liberty because of its conflict with solidarity.

For Horvat (1980) equality means equality of opportunity. Rights, whatever they are, must be transformed into opportunities. Members of the society must enjoy equal freedom of leading life according to their own choices. In this sense they must have socially equal life chances. This is an important point, because it implies some kind of intervention on the part of society to ensure equal freedom: it is not enough to assume that all are born equal.

Horvat (1980) notes three roles people play in society if they are to have equal chances, have equal rights, and receive equal treatment. *Equality of producers* implies equal access to productive capital of the society. Consequently, productive capital must be socially-owned, not state-owned. *Equality of consumers* implies an equitable or just distribution of income. Individuals ought to receive from the society exactly as much as they contribute to the social output. Finally, *equality of citizens* implies an equal distribution of power and participation in political decision-making. Horvat concedes that the three equities cannot be completely achieved in the real world, but they serve as criteria. Certainly equality of citizens is an equity towards which industrial democracy is aiming.

The third element of societal justice noted by Horvat is that of solidarity or fraternity. Horvat claims that freedom and equality have found their way into bourgeois constitutions but solidarity has not because it could

not be operationalised. He interprets the concept of solidarity as 'the refraining from having greater advantages when this is not to the benefit of those who are less fortunate' (Horvat 1980, p. 10). Horvat submits that without human solidarity, inequality and unfreedom reappear. Thus solidarity makes freedom and equality possible. Freedom and equality make solidarity necessary. For industrial democracy to succeed, all three elements are vital.

This paper is proposing that freedom, equality and solidarity are the motivating forces for introducing industrial democracy, and industrial democracy is a proposal for organised human action that will bring about greater societal justice.

Trist (1981) states that four different forms of industrial democracy can be distinguished. They are:

1 Interest group democracy, i.e. collective bargaining through which organised labour gains power to take an independent role on wages issues vis-a-vis management.
2 Representative democracy, whereby those at the lower levels of an organisation influence policies decided at higher levels (workers on boards, works councils).
3 Owner democracy, as in employee-owned firms and co-operative establishments where there is participation in the equity.
4 Work-linked democracy, whereby the participation is secured of those directly involved in decisions about how work shall be done at their own level.

Interest group democracy is the dominant form of industrial democracy operating in Norway, Sweden and Britain, although the first two countries also use representative democracy in their workplaces. Germany has representative democracy as its most dominant form of industrial democracy, while Yugoslavia has both representative and owner democracy. Australia and the United States have not made the advances in representative or owner democracy enjoyed by workers in the previously mentioned countries. These two countries use collective bargaining as their main form of industrial democracy.

The form of industrial democracy most applicable to schools is representative democracy, although the other forms are also relevant.

Examples of reform in educational administration

The democratisation of education has been proposed in a number of different forms but each form has the main purpose of giving participants in the educational process greater control over the decisions that affect them. Changes in the nature of the curriculum (Apple 1979, 1981; Kemmis et al. 1983; White et al. 1984; Bowers 1974), changes in the organisation of schools (Dewey 1915, 1916; Carnoy & Levin 1976; Berg 1981; Wallin 1982; Watson 1982), and changes in the relationship between schools and society

(Bowles & Gintis 1976; Levin 1975; Carnoy 1981) all aim at the private liberty noted by Horvat (1980) above.

The first section of this paper discussed the roles that administrators, teachers, students and parents play in schools and highlighted the undesirable outcomes that result from the roles participants are forced to play. The second section discussed the democratic ideal with a view to placing a 'light on the hill' for educational reforms. This section will look at some reforms made and some reforms advocated to further democratise education.

Self-management in Yugoslav schools

Schools in Yugoslavia employ a form of industrial democracy that has elements of both representative democracy and owner democracy (Watson 1982). There are several distinctive features in the school self-management scheme that are particularly relevant to this discussion. These are: the self-managed communities of interest, the workers' council, pupil self-management, and the emphasis on education for self-management. Each of these will be discussed briefly.

Schools, like industrial organisations in Yugoslavia, are regarded as organisations of associated labor. There is however one important difference: namely, not only the workers (teachers and ancillary staff) in the schools are concerned about the aims of the school, but also parents, enterprise workers and all community members. (That scope of interest in schooling is of course not unique to Yugoslavia.) Since 1958, schools have been regarded as independent social institutions in Yugoslavia, and they have been organised by self-managed communities of interest. Self-managed communities of interest are associations formed by working people directly or through their self-managed organisations and communities to satisfy their personal and common needs. Their aim is to link those who render specific public services with those who use the services and to make mutually beneficial adjustments. The purpose of the self-managed communities of interest is to form a bond between workers, the commune and schools in order to facilitate personal development, educational development and economic growth.

Workers' councils exist in schools where there are more than 30 workers (teachers and ancillary staff). Where there are fewer than 30 workers, the whole staff becomes the decision-making body. Principals or directors are elected by all workers and they are responsible to the workers' councils or staffs as a whole. Teachers are expected to participate in decisions concerning the school so that self-management is modelled for the students. Curriculum decision making is done by teachers in consultation with community delegates, and to a lesser extent with students. The central Educational Council of Yugoslavia does retain some power to establish curriculum guidelines. Nevertheless, worker self-management operates at the individual school level in Yugoslavia.

In the late 1960s a debate ensued in educational circles in Yugoslavia concerning how best to educate students for self-management. The expectation is that all students will end up working in self-managed enterprises, and therefore they should have experienced and learned about the concept of self-management. One means of achieving that purpose has been the introduction of pupil self-management into schools. Mirkovic-Lebl (1970, p. 107) defines pupil self-management as 'the conscious and active participation of pupils, together with other school factors, in the establishment and realization of training and education programs in the overall life, relations, and administration of the school'. Describing pupil self-management as a means of assisting in the social and moral development of children, Mirkovic-Lebl (1970, p. 111) lists what he believes the functions of pupil self-management to be in elementary schools. They are:

1 liberation of the pupil from egocentrism, and the socialisation of his needs and motives as a prerequisite for active participation in the implementation of mutual classroom and pioneer assignments;
2 activation of pupils in the process of adopting the socialist system of values and norms;
3 the creation and cultivation of stable interpersonal relations and the formation of pupil-pioneer collectives on the principle of solidarity; and
4 the development of relations with teachers and adults in general based on interpersonal belief and respect, and endeavors to ensure that each of them conscientiously carries out his task in the elementary school.

Unfortunately Mirkovic-Lebl is long on generalities and short on specifics: he does not describe in any detail the means of implementing the scheme. We are told that all elementary pupils are regarded as pioneers, and a class is thus a grade-class collective of pioneers, which in turn is part of a school pioneer collective, the last belonging to a League of Pioneers. Professor Chet Bowers from the University of Oregon commented that there was a great deal of rhetoric about pupil self-management in Yugoslav schools when he visited them in the early 1970s, but there was little tangible proof that any scheme was in operation. The lack of success of Yugoslav schools in establishing schemes for student participation, in a country where participation is a norm, highlights the difficulty of this issue. Many school reformers want students to learn how to become active citizens, and they believe that schools should allow for student participation in decision making, but they have been unable to establish a scheme that satisfies all.

Education for self-management lies at the heart of the Yugoslav education system. Krneta writes:

> Our working man in production and in social services is not only a worker but also a manager in the system of self-management. He must be made fit for this function of self-manager, won by a struggle which has become a mark in history, and in this respect he has to possess general education together with the necessary socio-economic education . . .
>
> (Krneta 1970, p. 41)

Education for self-management is also an integral part of the economic system as reported in *Yugoslav Survey*.

> Education is simultaneously a precondition for and a consequence of the right to self-management and the right to work with social resources. Education is the elementary interest and need of working people and makes a constituent part of their struggle to assume the leading position in social reproduction, and 'to exercise economic and political control over resources, and the conditions and fruits of their labour'.
>
> (Bezdanov et al. 1980, p. 117)

Education is thus seen as a precondition for, and a part of, industrial and economic democracy in Yugoslavia. Krneta (1970) indicates that the reforms that were introduced in 1958 to bring about self-management in schools were aimed at democratising the school system and eliminating elements of dualism in Yugoslav schools that led to the formation of an 'elite'. Any scheme to bring about industrial democracy in schools must take account of the self-managed communities of interest, the workers' councils, pupil self-management, and the emphasis on education for self-management in Yugoslav schools.

School administration reform in Sweden

In 1970, the Swedish Parliament appointed a Committee on the Inner Work of the School (SIA) whose purpose was to identify issues in the compulsory school that were currently in need of attention. In 1974, the Committee delivered its report to the Ministry of Education, and the Swedish Parliament passed a bill in May 1976 calling for the following:

1 Changes in the daily working methods of the school.
2 Introduction of the 'school day'.
3 Increased possibilities for local decision-making.
4 A higher degree of local freedom to use state funds.
5 Increased co-operation between school and the society outside the school, and
6 Democratisation.
(Information given in presentation by Professor Bengt Abrahamsson, University of Oregon, 1981)

The 1976 SIA law called for increased possibilities for local decision making and a higher degree of local freedom to use state funds. This change was prompted by the belief of the committee members that the Swedish education system was too highly centralised, according to one committee member. Marklund (1979) reports that every municipality has a special committee to act as its Local Education Authority (LEA). The LEA is in charge of education for all children in the municipality, it encourages educational experimentation and in-service teacher training, and it works for greater co-operation between schools and homes. Since the 1976 law, LEAs have increased possibilities to use state grants the way they decide themselves; 25 percent of state grants are not ear-marked in advance by state

authorities. Marklund (1979) claims that spending this 'free quarter' forces local planning and local evaluation on a broad scale, which gives school administration far greater responsibilities and possibilities for educational development than before.

The action of giving LEAs greater responsibility through decentralisation of financial decision making is important. The regional and national governments are still able to ensure that there is relative equality of resources across the Swedish school system because they control the funds, but they promote local decision making by allowing LEAs some discretion in their use of the funds.

Two important issues for industrial democracy in schools arise here. First, it is essential that some central body have control over the disbursement of funds to ensure relative parity to school systems. If central funding is not established, then there is no possibility of equality of educational provision. Second, by allowing greater discretion at the local level in making decisions about financial allocation, the Swedish government has helped promote greater innovation, responsibility, and responsiveness at the local level. A further decentralisation of financial decision making to the school level would allow teachers to be more responsive to the needs of their students.

Marklund (1979) reports that the SIA Commission proposed that new kinds of local consultative and management committees should be set up at the local level of a headmaster's district or individual school (these two sometimes coincide in Sweden). These school management committees should be composed of students, parents and staff, and they should take over some of the functions previously handled by headmasters. The proposal has yet to be implemented, but it represents a significant step in the direction of democratising the school.

The Act on the Joint Regulation of Working Life (MBL) of 1977 gave employees the right to negotiate through their union and reach agreements on conditions of work. Marklund (1979, p. 56) reports that the law has helped strengthen the influence of teachers and other staff members on decisions within the educational system. Much of the regular management work, all of which was previously done by superintendents and headmasters, now has to start in a series of information activities and negotiations. Marklund comments that the introduction of new working schemes is often delayed or even stopped, but the advantage of the negotiation is that when agreements are finally arrived at, they will be accepted and followed by the parties involved.

Student participation in educational decision making is also provided for by law in Swedish schools. Every upper-secondary school must have a joint committee comprising the headmaster, two teachers, two students, and two other members (appointed by the LEA). The joint committee is an advisory body. Most basic schools (ages 7–15 years) have joint committees and class councils. Marklund (1979) comments that students are not happy with the joint committees and class councils because of their

advisory, rather than decision-making status. The fact that they exist indicates some commitments to the democratisation of schools, but it is evident that in Sweden as in Yugoslavia, student participation is difficult to bring about.

School-based management in the United States

'School-based management,' writes Lindelow (1981, p. 1), 'is a system of educational administration in which the school is the primary unit of education decision-making. It differs from most current forms of school district organization in which the central office dominates the decision-making process.'

Lindelow (1981, p. 1) states that in districts using school-based management, each school is a relatively autonomous unit. The central office adopts a facilitative role, the school board continues to formulate and define the district's general policies and educational objectives, but most decisions regarding expenditures, curricula, and personnel are made by school-site personnel in consultation with parents, students and other community members.

Lindelow (1981) reports on an experiment in school-based management that is not supported by state funds. School-based management at Willagillespie Elementary School in Eugene, Oregon began as a pilot project by the National Council for Citizens in Education (NCCE). The project continued after NCCE funding fell through.

The school council consists of seven parent members and seven staff members. The staff members include the principal, the community-school co-ordinator, one person from the classified staff, and teachers from different grade levels. The principal has no veto power, and decisions are made by consensus where possible. The school is given a lump sum, and the council decides how the budget will be distributed. The council also decides how the curriculum will be implemented within the district's curriculum guidelines and who will work in the school within the limitations of the teachers' contracts. Lindelow (1981, p. 45) quotes the principal of Willagillespie Elementary School as saying: 'When people have a stake in a decision, then they're willing to see that it works. Rather than my making a decision and getting chewed out for making a mistake, the whole group is responsible for a wrong decision.'

School-based management in the United States is a form of decentralised decision making. Principals receive greater discretion in making decisions about the curriculum, personnel and the budget. Although the literature on school-based management stresses broader participative decision making involving teachers and parents, in practice that does not always happen. Nevertheless, school-based management can be considered a step on the road to democracy in schools, because it opens the door to greater participation by all school members. It also demonstrates that democracy in schools is possible in the United States.

Participation in educational decision making in the Australian Capital Territory

The Australian Capital Territory (ACT) school system is a relatively new school system, having been established in 1974. Prior to 1974, ACT schools were part of the New South Wales school system. Those educational administrators who were charged with establishing the ACT school system were able to implement many innovative ideas; including schemes for parental, teacher and student participation in decision making; school based rather than system-level decision making; and peer assessment.

The former Chief Education Officer of the ACT Schools Authority, Dr Hedley Beare, writes:

> The ACT structure therefore stresses distributed management, shared decision-making, the collegiality of educators, partnership with the public and openness. In that it is complex, it can be frustrating to the insiders no less than to the clients: in that it is participatory, the complexity should be not only defensible, but also commendable.
>
> (Beare 1978, p. 75)

The aspects noted by Beare are evident not only at the school level but also at the system level. Beare (1978, p. 77) comments that the ACT public school system is the only one in Australia governed by a council representative of all the interests in the community.

He considers the council unusual in several respects. First, it has teachers on it, and second, parents are directly represented on the Authority. Beare (1978) states that it has never been clear whether the membership of teachers was to be seen as an exercise in worker participation, or to ensure professional input, or both. He submits, however, that the contribution of the teachers on the Authority has been 'collectively remarkable and individually enormous' (1978, p. 78).

The following decisions are located at the school level in the ACT: selection of the courses appropriate for the students at the school; deployment of staff so that the courses can be adequately mounted; use of funds, buildings and resources to achieve the same purposes; determination of pupil progress; and participation in institutional planning for that particular school.

While school boards (in the ACT this means the board of an individual school) are nominally in control of curriculum and financial decisions, it is normally the case that the curriculum decisions are made by teachers with some parental input on general goals, and that financial decisions are made by the principal.

The implementation of school-based curriculum decision making in the ACT has caused a remarkable change in the attitudes of teachers toward their work. Teachers were impelled to devise a curriculum for their school where none existed. Of course much of the content was taken from the old New South Wales Syllabus, but at least teachers had to select, adapt, and adopt what they considered to be appropriate materials. They were supported in their endeavours by an in-service program operated by the

ACT Schools Authority and by planning conferences at the schools that allowed influence from students, parents and often 'educational experts'. ACT teachers now consider curricular decision making to be one of their major responsibilities, and teacher training courses at the Canberra College of Advanced Education reflect that expectation.

Another innovation of note in the ACT school system is peer assessment. Once teachers are appointed to schools, they are on six months' probation. During that time an assessment panel composed of two peers, an assistant principal, and the principal make a judgment whether the teacher should be given tenure or a further probationary period. A similar system of peer assessment exists for promotion from teacher to subject teacher, to assistant principal, to principal (in the ACT called Band 1, Band 2, Band 3, and Band 4). The Schools Authority does retain the right to veto the recommendations of the school assessment panel. Nevertheless, the principle of involving teachers in the assessment of their peers exists, and this I believe adds to teacher professionalism.

Harman (1978, pp. 89–104) provides an assessment of the ACT school system from an interested outsider's viewpoint. Calling the system 'one of the most dramatic and important recent experiments in educational administration', Harman states that the 'experiment' has been an unqualified success. Harman says that ACT demonstrates that a statutory authority is a viable alternative to a ministerial department, that boards for individual schools can play a useful role, and that it is possible to design mechanisms for effective representation from the community and teachers at both school and system levels. Harman cautions, however, that there have been difficulties in securing an effective degree of decision-making powers for individual schools and that the participatory decision-making style has placed heavy strains on administrators. On the issue of governance, the ACT system is a success, according to Harman.

The ACT school system has a number of distinctive features relevant to democracy in schools. They are: school-based curriculum decision making, peer assessment, individual school boards, encouragement of collegial decision making, and representation of school members and citizens on educational decision-making bodies.

Summary

In this section I have discussed some elements of industrial democracy that exist in the school systems of four countries: Yugoslavia, Sweden, the United States and Australia. Decentralised decision-making on the school budget occurs in Yugoslavia, the U.S. and to a lesser extent in Sweden and Australia. Curricular decision making at the school level is most established in Yugoslavia and Australia. Teacher participation in school management occurs in Yugoslavia and to a lesser extent in the other three countries. Pupil participation in educational decision making is most strongly supported in Yugoslavia and Sweden—though even in those countries there are acknowledged difficulties. Parental and community participation is

strong in Yugoslavia and to a lesser extent in Australia and the U.S. Finally, training for participation or self-management is important in Yugoslavia and Sweden and to a lesser extent in Australia and the United States.

Possible avenues for action

Having established a case for changing schools, proposed industrial democracy as a democratic ideal and provided examples of school administration reform, it remains to indicate where further reform might take place.

If we are aiming through education to give individuals greater control over the decisions that affect their lives, then educational organisations should reflect that aim. Koopman et al. (1943, p. 1) state, 'to contribute effectively to the larger purposes of democracy, the school itself must first become a contagious illustration of and a laboratory for the highest possible level of democratic living'. Koopman et al. were pursuing a line of reasoning established by Dewey: that through the democratisation of education would come the democratisation of society.

This paper does not make that claim. Indeed the arguments of Carnoy presented earlier must lead one to question the idea of education being at the vanguard of societal reform. The argument presented here is that any move to greater private, economic and political democracy in society must include movement toward industrial democracy in society's institutions. Movement towards greater democracy in schools, therefore, should be seen as part of a more general struggle for social justice.

In sum, if schools are to be changed, they should be changed to reflect the aims for a more egalitarian society, rather than to maintain a capitalist oligarchy. If the roles that school members play are to be changed, they should be changed so that the participative norm is established in schools. Democratic schools will help educate students in a democratic mode, and those students will then be able to participate more effectively in a more democratic society.

How should that struggle continue? This final section will point to changes already underway or potential changes to the process of schooling that can lead to the democratisation of education.

The roles of administrators

> It must be said that the democratic principle requires that every teacher should have some regular and organic way in which he can, directly or through representatives democratically chosen, participate in the formation of the controlling aims, methods and materials of the school of which he is a part.
>
> (Dewey 1940, p. 343)

The formation of School Councils in Victoria, the operation of school-based curriculum development in the ACT and the operation of Workers' Councils in Yugoslav schools are examples of greater teacher participation in school administration. The formerly unchallenged role of the prin-

cipal in schools has been changed to allow greater teacher participation in educational decision making.

Nevertheless principals still wield a great deal of power and if that power is used in an authoritarian manner then students will be having a hierarchical and non-participatory view of society's institutions reinforced daily.

The election of administrators by peers—that is teachers electing teachers—would do much to overcome the prevailing hierarchical structure. If teacher education courses included administrative units then teachers could enter schools with an expectation that they would participate in decision making; including possible election to administrative positions.

With curriculum, finance and staffing committees operating at school level, teachers could gain the necessary experience for election to administrative positions. The nature of the administrative positions could also change to one of educational leadership if ancillary staff took over the administrative tasks currently performed by principals and assistant principals.

In schools in Australia and elsewhere at the present time, too much is demanded of principals, with the result that they become distant from their staffs and students, they rely on hierarchical decision making, and they eschew innovation in favour of maintaining the status quo. There is, therefore, a need for greater delegation of administrative responsibilities to teachers, other administrators, and support staff to free principals to work towards creating flexible organisations that encourage innovation and supportive relationships.

The roles of teachers

As well as taking part in school decision making through a school council or workers' council, teachers have a crucial role to play in the classroom.

While students may gain a generalised view of how society runs through observation of the administration of schools, that view will be greatly influenced by the role played by the classroom teacher. If classroom teachers constantly assert their role as holders of wisdom and controllers of the agenda then students may accept the superior-subordinate relationship as a 'given' in society.

If on the other hand, teachers see their role as more of a resource person and co-ordinator, and if they encourage student negotiation and participation in classroom educational decisions, then the outcomes of schooling will be very different.

Thus, teachers can gain greater satisfaction through having more control over the administrative decisions that affect their working lives and they can help to create a more democratic school by the manner in which they interact with students.

The roles of students

Students are in the anomalous position of being members of schools and clients of them. Another complicating factor is that members normally join organisations voluntarily, but students are obliged to attend schools. In

fact, it is the element of coercion that dictates the subordinate position that students hold in schools. I am not, in this paper, proposing a solution to the problem of the clients of an organisation being coerced into attending that organisation. My purpose is to discuss ways of reducing the alienation of these (often unwilling) clients, and increasing their desire to participate in schools' and society's decision-making processes.

Previously I stated that students can be alienated by schooling because they feel themselves outsiders. That is, they feel that the work they are doing is not for themselves but for someone else. In similar fashion to workers in factories, students are massed, undifferentiated, and denied freedom.

Schools reproduce the social relations of production. The hidden curriculum of schooling is that students are prepared for life in a society where non-participation is the norm. In Coleman's words, the student role is 'a relatively passive role, always in preparation for action, but seldom acting' (1972, p. 227). The previous section of this paper raised the problems of instituting pupil self-management in Yugoslav schools. Swedish school initiatives of having students on advisory committees in upper-secondary schools, and forming student unions were also discussed.

Attempts to involve students in decision-making processes of schools have not often been successful. Schmuck & Schmuck (1974) say that students are often unprepared in their attitudes and skills to behave effectively in a democratic school. I believe that knowledge of democratic forms can come through participation and through the curriculum.

Participation can occur in the classroom and in other forums in the school. In the ACT and Victoria, students are included on secondary school boards and councils respectively. That participation should be encouraged and report-back opportunities provided so that all students can understand the decision-making processes.

Concomitantly, while most high schools have student representative councils, their role is often restricted to arranging social events. If their role were extended to include discussion and resolution of school rules then the councils would achieve greater status.

Representative rather than participative democracy will be the norm for students in schools because of their large numbers. The challenge is to make the representative democracy more meaningful while encouraging greater participatory democracy in the classroom.

Democratic schools should not be seen as *laissez-faire* schools where students can do as they please, but they would certainly be an alternative to the present system of schooling. The principles of industrial democracy demand that workers have self-government or equal participation in the running of their organisations, but there are extenuating circumstances in schools. Students are not workers in the same sense as teachers, and they also do not have the maturity (in the lower levels) or knowledge to participate in all the decisions that are made in schools. On the other hand, if industrial democracy were to be introduced into schools, students would

have to be able to see where they could participate and also that their participation was having some effect.

The roles of parents

What should the roles of parents and the community be in schools? Hughes (1978) argues that parental participation is needed in educational decision making to ensure congruence of aims and attitudes between home and school. Schmuck & Schmuck (1974) state that parents can be an invaluable resource in helping schools to become functionally more pluralistic. Schmuck & Schmuck advocate parental involvement in the formulation of goals and policies for the education of their children. Bowers (1974) claims, on the other hand, that control within a pluralistic community eliminates pluralism within the school. His argument is that community pressure groups can force school administrators to adopt educational policies that may not be in the best interests of students. Bowers argues that pluralism in schools can come from teachers who represent different racial, religious, and cultural backgrounds and from books that provide different interpretations of society and where it is headed. Parents and the community, in Bowers' scheme, do not control educational policy making.

Pirsig (1974) defines culture as 'a consensus of values'. To the extent that a pluralistic society can never have a consensus of values, educational decision making will always be political because of the debate over the cultural heritage to be passed on. To muster enough votes in a school board election, or to have money and social standing, or to succeed in influencing a school administrator should not, in my view, entitle a group to determine what should be taught in schools. Parents and the community should participate in setting the goals for the education of their children, but the translation of those goals into a curriculum should be left to those working in the school.

Parental and community participation can be encouraged through participation on school boards and councils, representation on curriculum and school evaluation committees, greater interaction with classroom teachers and through discussion with neighbourhood groups.

The formation of neighbourhood discussion groups has become an effective mechanism for increasing parental participation in secondary school renewal exercises in the ACT. Comprising up to twenty parents, the neighbourhood groups have met regularly with one or more teachers at the home of parents to discuss issues of common concern. A preliminary evaluation of this process has indicated great parental satisfaction. Forums such as this should be encouraged.

I believe that neighbourhood groups, increased discussions with classroom teachers and participation on curriculum committees would provide sufficient mechanisms for those parents who want to become involved in their children's education to be involved.

Thus the role for parents in educational decision making would be partly participative and partly consultative.

Hopes for the future

The implications of creating democratic schools with the elements discussed above are best put forward in the form of hopes for the future.

First, I hope that students educated in democratic schools would not be willing to accept the domination of their social, political and economic lives by non-elected others. I hope that the experience of participating in decisions about their working lives in schools could cause students to push for greater democracy in society when they left school. I hope that some of the values implicit in industrial democracy—freedom, equality, and solidarity—would become the goals for ex-students of democratic schools. That is, I hope that there would be a spillover effect.

I hope that the ways in which students, teachers and parents interacted with each other in democratic schools would cause ex-students to seek more mutually reinforcing relationships in all parts of their lives in society.

I hope that industrial democracy would become the critical issue in all organisations as more students educated in democratic schools enter the workforce.

I hope that industrial democracy in schools, as part of a greater movement for industrial democracy in all organisations would provide the impetus for greater economic democracy in society and thus greater societal justice.

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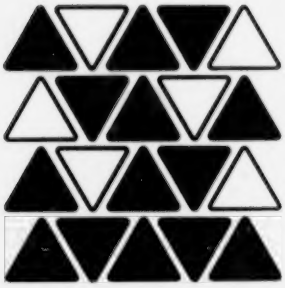

1

Education and organizational democracy

Henry M. Levin

Human beings do not enter the world as workers. Rather, they become workers by being inculcated with the organizational and technical skills, values, behaviour and ideologies that are necessary for integration into the work enterprises of their societies. In traditional societies this process of socialization tends to be relatively informal in the sense that living with adults provides exposure to the necessary training to become competent as adults in both work and other aspects of daily life. The young members of a hunting and gathering society or one based upon primitive agriculture learn to hunt or forage for food or to grow food by participating with their elders from an early age in the hunting, the gathering or the growing. Food preparation is learned as the young sit beside their mothers and fathers and observe these acts, eventually participating in the activities. Construction of shelter and the fabrication of garments is learned in the same way. No formal educational system is needed outside of daily life to socialize the young for their eventual work roles.

However, in modern societies work is generally removed from the household and is predicated upon very different values, activities and organizational principles than those that characterize the home and family (Inkeles, 1966). This has meant historically that other institutions have arisen to prepare the young for their eventual work roles. Although these include experiences derived from the larger community, religious institutions, the

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media and child-rearing, the most important single institution preparing the young for the workplace is the school. In this respect, the school can be viewed as the major institution for inculcating in the young the skills, values, attitudes and behaviours which enable them to be smoothly integrated into work organizations as productive workers (Dreeben, 1968; Inkeles and Smith, 1974; Parsons, 1959).

Recent studies in the US have tended to focus on the historical relations between schools and the workplace (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Feinberg and Rosemont, 1975; Field, 1974; Katz, 1968 and 1971; Spring, 1972). That is, to what degree have the schools reflected the imperatives of the workplace, and what have been the mechanisms by which these linkages have been maintained? In responding to these questions, there has been substantial agreement on two aspects.[1] First, schools have tended to respond to major changes in work organization and to correspond in their own organization and functioning with major aspects of the workplace. Second, although the correspondence of schools with the organization and needs of the workplace for properly socialized labour inputs is an important factor for understanding the development and directions of education, schools also have an autonomous dynamic which can undermine that correspondence. Before proceeding, it is important to point out that the pattern for any particular country is not necessarily typical of any other. However, there is reason to believe that the broad outlines of the US experience are certainly relevant to most of the countries of Western Europe (Levin, 1976 and 1978a).

EDUCATION AND THE WORKPLACE: CORRESPONDENCE

Bowles and Gintis (1976) refer to three distinct stages of development of schooling in the United States: (a) the origins of mass schooling in the nineteenth century; (b) the period of rationalization and streamlining of education from about 1890–1930; and (c) the post-1960 period of mass higher education. They suggest that each of these corresponds to a major turning-point in the organization of work.

The establishment of mass schooling seemed to follow the transformation of the US workplace from one based upon small and highly decentralized workshops, farms and shops to one based upon the establishment of a factory system and wage labour. In 1780 it was estimated that some 80 per cent of the non-slave work force were individual proprietors, property owners and professionals who were 'self-employed' to use the expression of modern statistical reports (Main, 1965, pp. 271–2). By 1880 a profound transformation had taken place in the organization of work with about 80 per cent of the population working as wage and salary workers in relatively large organizations that were removed from the household. Over the same period the system of schooling grew from one in which there existed no extensive

network of public schools in 1780 (Main, 1965, p. 241) to one in which some three-fifths of the population between 5–17 were enrolled for an average school year of 132 days in 1880 (US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1976, p. 178). Further, the growth of schooling followed a pattern in which expansion was most rapid in those geographical areas where factory production grew most quickly (Field, 1974).

The period from 1890–1930 saw the rise of the corporate form of production in large bureaucracies with growing monopoly power over both product and labour markets (Edwards, 1978). During this period, hierarchy and centralization of production increased as well as the minute division of labour associated with the practices of scientific management and the theories of Frederick Taylor (Haber, 1964; Nelson, 1975). Likewise, the schools followed this pattern with major changes in their organization including the development of larger schooling units through consolidation and centralization, the initiation of age-grading of students, standardization of different curricula, testing and tracking of students to assign them to different curricula and the adoption of many other 'modern' factory practices in terms of the organization of production and the grading of 'products' for positions in the hierarchy of production (Bowles and Gintis, 1976, ch. 7; Tyack, 1974, Part IV).

In the post-1960 period there has been a profound shift from manufacturing to services and a need for a larger and larger white-collar proletariat. The jobs that have been created are largely sub-professional ones for office workers, salespersons and technicians, and the skill requirements of such jobs have been declining as sophisticated capital and new technologies have automated work tasks (Cooley, 1980; Braverman, 1974). This phase has corresponded with the advent of mass higher education in which two-year community colleges and four-year colleges with practical career training have replaced the more classical academic and professional preparation that was traditionally associated with colleges and universities (Bowles and Gintis, 1976, ch. 8; Karabel, 1972). Of course, the elite colleges and universities have largely maintained their traditional functions, while the expansion of training for the white-collar proletariat has occurred at community colleges, technical institutes and the less prestigious four-year colleges and universities.

Not only could one observe historically the correspondence between changes in the workplace and major organizational changes in education, but one can observe a remarkable similarity at any moment in time between the two sets of institutions. Just as the workplace tends to be organized into hierarchies with highly regularized rules and regulations comprising their operations, so are educational institutions. Just as most workers lack control over the process and product of their work activity, so do most students in the sense of being forced to conform to curricula and learning activities that have been planned and elaborated in great detail without the input of the students whom they affect. Just as workers tend to provide their labour in exchange for

extrinsic rewards such as wages, salaries and promotions, so are students motivated by factors external to the learning process such as grades, promotions, admissions to more advanced programmes and diplomas.[2] And just as work supervisors, whose legitimacy does not derive from democratic selection, determine the level of success of individual workers, so do teachers determine which students will succeed and receive the highest awards and which will not. Indeed, the systems of social control are remarkably similar, with individual students competing against each other for advancement to the higher echelons of education just as individual workers compete against each other for occupational advancement.

Finally, both the educational system and the workplace are highly stratified by social class origins, sex and race.[3] Students from working-class backgrounds and racial minorities are least likely to go to the better schools or to higher levels of instruction, and they do most poorly in terms of the criteria that schools use to assess performance. They are less likely to complete secondary school and to attend university. Likewise, females are less likely to be found in post-secondary programmes that are highly competitive, prestigious and lead to rewarding occupational positions. Corresponding with their educational treatment, the same groups are likely to be found in those occupations with the lowest pay and prestige and to experience higher levels of unemployment than are males and persons from higher social class and majority origins.

How can such dominant patterns of correspondence between schools and the workplace be explained? There seem to be at least four ingredients to this dynamic. First, the fact that technological changes and concepts of efficiency and management have generally proceeded historically from the business sector to government has also applied to the schools. Particularly at times when rapid technological change in the organization of production and management techniques has taken place, managers and trustees of the schools have been heavily influenced by such practices. As Callahan (1962) demonstrated, the practices of scientific management in the workplace became embodied in similar attempts by educational administrators and school boards to impart the same types of features to schools that would improve their efficiency. In a capitalist society, the principles of capitalist organization at the forefront became the benchmark of progress by which efficiency in other organizations was judged, and there has typically been a transfer of many organizational practices from the former to the latter. This process was further accelerated by the heavy representation of businessmen on governing boards of state departments of education and local governing boards.

Second, correspondence is enhanced by the interest of the state in utilizing education to reproduce its major features and prepare citizens for appropriate

roles in its institutions. As such, education is sponsored by the state and is mandated, organized and certified by the state. The specific requirements for degrees, required courses in the basic school curriculum, mandated testing programmes and teacher requirements, textbook selection and a host of other factors reflect the world for which schools are preparing youngsters. That is, the political process itself that sets out these provisions is heavily influenced by the 'practical' purposes of education in preparing students for eventual work roles in the economy. Finally, a major role of schools is to legitimate existing institutions so that they will be accepted by their citizens who will become easily integrated into their functions as they reach adulthood. Thus, the state plays an important role in adapting schools to the reality of the workplace.

A third source of correspondence is that the reality faced by families in the workplace heavily influences their views on what is important to learn in school. By the turn of the century, the importance of schooling for occupational success had become readily apparent in America. Thus, it was rather natural to accept the view that just as discipline and order, hierarchy, lack of control of the work process, and motivation through the use of extrinsic rewards were increasingly dominating the work process, it was also increasingly logical and legitimate for such characteristics to dominate the schooling process as well. If the young were eventually to succeed in their occupational advancement in the expanding industrial economy, the schools had to provide them with the skills and values that would enable them to meet the dictates of the workplace. Thus, families and students were themselves a part of the social constellation of correspondence in that their expectations and demands tended to mould the reality of the schools and the acceptance of correspondence through both their inputs into the political process affecting schools as well as through their educational behaviour within schools.

A fourth source of correspondence has been that of teacher willingness to accept the exigencies of preparing students for the eventualities of the workplace.[4] Persons recruited into teaching are already self-selected in the sense of accepting the nature of the teaching role in a highly circumscribed environment. The organization of the learning process, time allocation to specific subjects, curriculum, pedagogy, instructional materials and test instruments for assessment of learning are typically set out in fine detail, and the teacher is inserted into that process with relatively little autonomy. That is, teachers accept positions in which they are willing to relinquish substantial control over their own work activities. Second, teachers are realistic about the characteristics that will be required for student success, so it is little wonder that they have lower expectations for minorities, females and the poor than for non-minorities, males and students from advantaged backgrounds. They are just accepting the nature of the world for which they are preparing youth.

Even if they find these differences to be morally objectionable, they feel frustrated in their attempts to change them.

Finally, just as a major source of socialization to work for all workers is created by the ideology and functioning of the workplace itself, teachers are also influenced by their own work experiences. Over time, those teachers who accept the conditions of their own workplace are also less likely to question the nature and meaning of their own practices. Or more pragmatically, they may accept them as a matter of survival. As a major analytical survey of schoolteachers stated:

> There is a certain ambivalence then, in the teacher's sentiments. He yearns for more independence, greater resources, and just possibly, more control over key resources. But he accepts the hegemony of the school system on which he is economically and functionally dependent. He cannot ensure that the imperatives of teaching, as he defines them, will be honored, but he chafes when they are not. He is poised between the impulse to control his work life and the necessity to accept its vagaries. (Lortie, 1975, p. 186)

Teachers accept the terms of control over students, space, supplies and schedules that is set out for them: 'For at the base of teacher status is the indisputable constraint that without access to a position in the schools the teacher cannot practice his craft' (*ibid*, p. 185).

In conclusion, the process of correspondence between the functions of schools and the requirements of the workplace is less a function of direct capitalist control of the schools than of the perceptions of the major actors who dominate schooling on what schools should be in societies where educational attainment and occupational attainment have been inextricably intertwined and where the limits of what is desirable and possible is largely moulded by social reality (Berger and Luckman, 1966). To the degree that state actions have placed limits on deviations from this path, one can point to an instrumentalist state as ensuring correspondence (Althusser, 1971; Broady, 1981). However, it is also widely recognized that schools are not mere mirrors of the capitalist workplace any more than the capitalist state is a mere instrument of the capitalist class. Rather, both the state generally and the schools specifically must mediate contradictions between labour and capital and conflict among fractions of both capital and labour. In that sense the school has a dynamic which is partially autonomous from the workplace and in which there is always a tendency to deviate from a pattern of correspondence.

EDUCATION AND THE WORKPLACE: CONTRADICTION

Preparing the young to be good workers is not the only function of schools. They also have other important functions for reproducing the larger societies

of which they are a part, with particular emphasis on the reproduction of the citizen as well as worker. The good citizen must accept the legitimacy of the political, economic and social system and embrace its over-riding rationale and ideology. But the making of the citizen in a democratic society will often be in conflict with the making of the worker. For example, in order to accept the capitalist mode of production, the worker must accept the hegemony of capital over labour. Yet, in the political arena each worker and capitalist has an equal vote and workers far exceed capitalists in numbers. Moreover, the laws are to be applied equally to all citizens. In the United States the Constitution guarantees the right to freedom of speech and assembly, as well as many other basic political rights, but these are circumscribed from the workplace by an authoritarian regime. Thus, preparation for the restrictions of working life and for the freedoms and rights of political life may be in direct conflict with each other (Gintis, 1980).

In fact, the schools are expected to reproduce a variety of outcomes which create internal contradictions in their functioning. By contradiction we mean that the schools must operate in a way in which there is internal opposition and struggle in their actual functions so that they cannot easily maintain a smooth path of reproduction. To take a major example that is pertinent to the workplace, we have suggested that the schools must prepare a hierarchy of workers with the appropriate skills and attitudes and in the appropriate proportions for the needs of the labour market. Yet, at the same time the schools represent the foremost institutions for providing equality of opportunity and access to social and occupatonal positions according to merit. For most parents and their offspring, the only hope for success and upward social mobility is by doing well in school. Even though the schools are hardly neutral according to social class background, it is obvious that those who obtain higher educational credentials will have greater life chances than those with lesser education.

This factor leads to a self-sustaining political demand for educational expansion and for democratic reforms of schooling such as the comprehensive secondary school reforms of Western Europe (Levin, 1978a). But, the expansion of secondary schools leads to demands for more university opportunities, and soon the output of students who have completed secondary school and the university must necessarily exceed the ability of the economy to absorb them in appropriate jobs (Rumberger, 1981).[5] Private control of the economy limits the ability of the state to create policies for absorbing the additional graduates, so serious problems of educated unemployed or under-employed arise. These put pressure on the state to expand public-sector jobs, a phenomenon that is limited by fiscal resources. At the same time, the incentives to get even more schooling become more pronounced in an increasingly competitive labour market as individuals try to get an 'edge' on their competitors.

The overall result is that although the schools continue to be in correspondence with the workplace in many respects, they are substantially out of correspondence because the democratic reforms and political pressures on schools have contributed to an over-educated labour force (Rumberger, 1981). The problem is especially aggravated as many jobs are transformed into ones with lower skill requirements by the application of modern technology and the micro-processor revolution (Cooley, 1980; Goldhaber, 1980). The over-educated workers are unable to fulfil their expectations for jobs with the skill requirements, prestige, income levels and future occupational mobility that are commensurate with their educational attainments. Further, the slow rates of economic growth at the present and in the foreseeable future do not suggest any improvement in their longer-term prospects.

Under such conditions, the system of education has actually served to undermine existing forms of production by creating a highly disgruntled, over-educated work force that is not easily integrated into the workplace.[6] Instead, such persons are responsible for increasing problems of turnover, absenteeism, alcoholism and drug use, sabotage and lagging productivity.[7] In fact, it is exactly this behaviour among young workers that is leading increasingly to modifications of the workplace in the directions of greater work participation and democracy. It is believed that by more fully meeting the needs of the worker to participate in his or her daily work life and be a member of a participative community instead of some of the more traditional job incentives, that the worker will also become more productive with respect to his or her work effort and work behaviour.

In summary, the schools reproduce wage labour for capitalist and state enterprise while undermining the nature of that relation over the longer run. As the divergence between the needs for properly socialized labour and the output of the educational sector diverge, major problems arise in both schools and the workplace. Over time, the independent dynamic of schools will tend to undermine the correspondence between education and the workplace and exacerbate conflicts in the workplace that are attributable to the fundamental contradiction between capital and labour. At that stage the schools no longer serve to mediate that contradiction effectively by reproducing wage labour that will submit to the hegemony of capital and the extraction of surplus for capital accumulation. This divergence between education and the workplace will stimulate reforms in both sectors that will once again re-establish correspondence.

Such a turning-point seems to be emerging at the present time with the over-expansion of the educational system relative to available job opportunities. The addition of many young and over-educated workers to the labour force is creating a productivity crisis for capital that can be resolved only by major alterations of the workplace. These changes will ultimately lead

to changes in education through the mechanisms of correspondence, and productive structures and schools will once again function in tandem. The specific educational reforms that will be adopted from a large number of competing reforms will tend to be those that re-establish correspondence rather than those that are most intellectually or morally compelling.

EDUCATIONAL CHANGE AND ORGANIZATIONAL DEMOCRACY

Thus far I have suggested some of the sources of both stability and change in education as well as consequences for the workplace. But the question of what shape the educational system will take to support changes in the workplace will depend on the nature of the specific alterations of work. The potential variety of forms of educational organization can best be appreciated by providing a few very diverse examples. Each of the following educational approaches corresponds to a specific work order.

The Lancasterian system or monitorial system was the basis for elementary education in Britain, and it was also adopted by such major cities in the US as Boston and New York (Kaestle, 1973; Lancaster, 1973 edition; Reigart, 1916). Joseph Lancaster started a school for poor children in London in 1798 at the age of 20. Because of the lack of alternative educational opportunities, he attracted a very large number of boys to his school. Thus, he was faced with the challenge of how to accommodate so many students with only meagre resources. Having neutral organizational abilities, he decided to utilize those children who had already gained at least some skills to serve as monitors for those who had not reached that level. He eventually organized the entire curriculum into a series of tasks that had to be learned under monitors who had already learned them. Under a single master and a monitor for each nine or ten students, the school functioned like a factory. Each new student was assigned to a monitor, being promoted to another monitor when he had made progress. Monitors were also assigned to preparing supplies and other tasks, and a monitor-general supervised the other monitors. Students were expected to learn specific information or skills by rote, and through a system of badges for achievement and punishments for poor learning or behaviour the students were motivated to move from one level to the next. Each monitor was placed in charge of a row of students, all charged with the same set of learning tasks. When these were accomplished, students were moved to the next row to accomplish a new set of tasks. The lay-out of the room, the supervisory process, and the methods for motivating students to learn were remarkably similar to the emerging factory system of the early nineteenth century. Therefore, it is not surprising that for five decades the Lancasterian system was the dominant mode of instruction in the expanding primary schools and many of the industrializing cities of both England and the United States.

But the early nineteenth century was not devoid of competing ideas for

education. Especially important were the views of the Swiss educator Pestalozzi who had developed a 'natural' system of education that was more child-oriented in its focus. Joseph Neef was a student of Pestalozzi who first introduced the ideas of his master into the United States,[8] at a school in Philadelphia in the first decade of the nineteenth century. However, Neef carried the ideas of democratic organization of schools much farther than Pestalozzi. In 1807 he published a *Sketch of a Plan of Education Suited to the Offspring of a Free People*, in which he outlined a plan for a self-governing school or school republic. Schooling would begin with very young children being taught a sense of their rights and duties as well as the importance of reason in setting their behaviour. At some point the children would be told that they were now free to form their own republic with a constitution and laws set out by the students themselves. The constitution would set out both rights and duties of the members of the republic as well as the method by which laws would be passed and enforced. The students were free to accept or reject their former teacher into their community. Presumably, the role of that person as well as what would be taught and learned was determined by the youth assembly. It was intended that a self-governing school would be the educational basis for a self-governing society.

Possibly, Neef's views would have long been obscured had he not been called upon by Robert Owen to establish and direct the upper school (students of 5–12 years of age) in the utopian community of New Harmony. Although Neef had attempted to put his ideas into practice at an earlier time, they had not been inserted into a community based upon social ownership of property and democratic organization of production. In the Owen community the correspondence between the ideas of Neef and his mentor Pestalozzi and educational patron, William Maclure, on the one hand, and the communitarian attempt of Owen on the other, were more substantial.

If the Lancasterian approach was supportive of the emerging industrial order, the self-governing school of Neef was supportive of the establishment of worker co-operatives. In fact, the schools were to be self-supporting economically by introducing the industrial, manual and agricultural arts into the curriculum in an active way so that through productive work the students would provide for their own needs. As Maclure explained: 'the great economy of enabling children to feed, clothe, and educate themselves by their own exertions; thus rendering them independent of the labor of others and establishing an equality founded on each administering to his own wants from the most early age' (Lockwood, 1971, p. 270).

The short-lived nature of New Harmony precluded the full development of the self-supporting school republic. Without a community based upon social ownership of the means of production and both political and economic equality in the fullest democratic sense, there could be little demand for such schools. However, almost a century later similar principles were enunciated

by John Dewey in his quest for democracy in education (J. Dewey, 1916). Dewey argued that education was essentially a moral activity in that it is a way of shaping future society through moulding the experiences of the young. If one could create ideal social communities in the school, through social growth these would create the future adult society. Accordingly, Dewey argued for full democratic participation in schools where activities were undertaken for their intrinsic value, rather than moulding schools according to how they prepared workers and citizens for an existing social order that he considered reprehensible for its inequalities, manipulative institutions and meaningless work roles.

In contrast to the correspondence principle, Dewey believed that through educational reform one would remake the social order to conform with the highest principles of democracy. In fact, Dewey had a vision of industrial democracy based upon social ownership of property and the full participation of all workers in the transformation of the work process that would be intrinsically satisfying to all of its participants. Scientific rationality in the service of democracy could bring this end about, and the progressive school of Dewey was the fount from which these social transformations would arise (Wirth, 1981).

Dewey had a profound impact on American intellectual life and upon school reform movements (Cremin, 1964), but the public schools of America remained far more faithful to changes in the work order than to the philosophy and pedagogy of Dewey. Despite the substantial power of the Progressive Education Association which espoused Dewey's views at both the universities and in the major cities of the country (Graham 1967), the schools followed the pattern of education for social efficiency. Thus, the business-like practices of curriculum uniformity, standardized testing, tracking or streaming according to 'aptitudes', school consolidation and centralization under a professional bureaucracy, and systems of extrinsic rewards to provide motivation became the dominant features of schooling (Tyack, 1974, Parts IV and V). The reform movements of progressive educators and active citizens and the profound logic of the progressive schools were hardly a match for the powerful forces pulling schools into correspondence with the changing workplace (Wirth, 1977).

Thus, historically there have existed a number of approaches for democratizing the schools, but they have not been consistent with the exigencies of the workplace. Although schools do have their own independent dynamic which may diverge over the longer run from a strict pattern of correspondence, major educational reforms seem to succeed only when they serve to pull education back into correspondence with the changing needs of the workplace. Accordingly, any analysis of how schools might change to accommodate a more participative and democratic workplace must begin with the concrete forms of workplace reform.

DEMOCRATIC WORKPLACE REFORMS AND EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS

There are two problems in specifying democratic workplace reforms and their educational consequences. First, there are so many potential and actual directions that democratization of the workplace can take from co-determination and workers on the boards to greater use of worker councils to worker co-operatives to socio-technical approaches such as team assembly (Jenkins, 1974). Even these do not include the more cosmetic forms of participation that are often initiated by firms in the hope of getting large increases in productivity for only minimal changes in work organization. Yet, it is necessary to specify concrete forms of democratization in order to specify their educational consequences in the overall framework of correspondence.

Second, even when concrete forms of democratization of work organizations are specified, the educational consequences are not always straightforward. For example, relatively minor changes need not require any changes in formal education or training, but only learning-by-doing. Even more substantial changes in work organization need not affect the schools, since work experience itself is a powerful teacher. In fact, in a cross-national study of determinants of modern attitudes (defined as those required for participation in large-scale modern productive enterprises such as the factory)–years of education was found to be the most important determinant; however, exposure to mass media and work experience had relatively strong estimated impacts as well (Inkeles and Smith, 1974).[9]

A further complication is introduced by the fact that the movement towards organizational democracy may take different forms in different countries. The industrial composition of production, the political party in power, the nature and strength of trade unions, the history of industrial relations, the degree of multi-national penetration, and the degree of monopoly concentration of industries are all factors that will determine both the nature and speed of workplace democratization. Under such conditions, it is difficult to generalize about what will take place and its specific educational consequences. However, it is useful to look at the Swedish case as a prototype of what might take place in other advanced industrialized countries. Although the overall legislation on industrial democracy that has governed industrial relations in Sweden since 1976 is extremely important in this regard, I will refer only to the use of team assembly as a concrete form of democratization at the plant level.

Among the most important developments in forms of production are the applications of the socio-technical work approaches associated with the Tavistock Institute in London and the Work Research Institute in Oslo (Emery and Thorsrud, 1969; Herbst, 1962; Thorsrud, Sorenson and Gustavsen, 1976). This approach divides the functions of the organization

among relatively small work groups that make decisions on how the work will be performed. The assumption is that most employees can relate much better to a small and identifiable group of which they are members and who are charged with a specific sub-component of production than to a large impersonal organization in which they execute one or two repetitive tasks. This attachment to the group and the high level of communication and interaction among its members foster the ability of the group to make internal decisions about the work process. While the group is accountable to a higher level of management for its overall performance, the internal assignments, scheduling, training and consideration of new work practices are delegated to the work group itself. A number of successful cases using the socio-technical approach to democratization of the workplace have been documented (Susman, 1976). Some of the best known cases are found in the application of these ideas to automobile assembly as in the case of Volvo (Gyllenhammar, 1977) and that of Saab.

For example, the Saab plant in Trollhattan had a worker turnover of 78 per cent in 1970–1.[10] Management and the union initiated an experiment in 1971 to reduce turnover of employees and improve quality through team assembly of car doors. The success of this venture led to group production of full car bodies in 1975 with teams of seven workers including one group co-ordinator and the other six working in pairs. The co-ordinator is responsible for assuring an adequate supply of materials and covering temporary absences. The position of co-ordinator is rotated among members on a weekly basis. The team does most of the maintenance of its machinery, most quality control, and in consultation with management hires new members and allocates a budget for the purchase of new equipment. The group is also charged with training new members.

Workers have received a slight increase in wages for managing their affairs and seem to prefer the team approach when interviewed, and the enterprise has found that the investment in team assembly has been extraordinarily profitable. Quality control has improved, and the number of quality control supervisors has diminished. Other savings in labour costs have been effected by drastic reductions in worker turnover. In 1974 turnover for the body assembly plant was 53 per cent, but by 1980 it had declined to about 14 per cent. The annual savings were estimated to be about nine times the annual costs, and Saab recovered its full investment for converting from assembly line to team assembly in only two and a half years. In short, these types of change are consistent with the logic of capitalism and represent an effective way of reducing costs and raising productivity. It is probably reasonable to assert that democratization of the capitalist workplace will take place only if it meets the requirements of increasing profitability of the firm. For this reason, the use of team assembly is likely to expand substantially in Western Europe and North America.

EDUCATIONAL CONSEQUENCES OF TEAM ASSEMBLY

If the use of work teams were to become more widespread, we might expect to see major changes in school organization. The assumption of a predominant shift in the workplace is a crucial prerequisite for corresponding changes in schools. The principles of correspondence whether through the laws of the state, the behaviour of educational professionals, the demands and expectations of parents or the values and expectations of students will be called into play only through pervasive alterations in work organization. Experiments in work reorganization and occasional modifications of practice are less likely to visit their effects on the overall system of socialization for work. Moreover, as I noted above, the workplace in itself has profound effects on shaping the behaviour of its participants, so changes in school socialization are not always required. It is only when there is a major turning-point in productive organization that it is likely that there will be consequences for the system of schooling. At least four changes in workplace behaviour are associated with team assembly and each has educational implications.

Educational decision-making

A major shift reflected in team assembly is the emphasis on group decisions by those who will actually perform the work. The more traditional approach separates the planning and evaluation of work from its execution, with the former done by managers and technicians and the latter by operatives. But, under team assembly, workers must carry out all these functions as well as train, select and counsel members of the group and make decisions on the selection and maintenance of equipment. In contrast with the present educational system where the emphasis is on functioning as an individual in competition with fellow students, a corresponding education would emphasize functioning as a member of a co-operating group.

There are many potential educational reforms which would support these changes in socialization. These would include a greater emphasis on democracy in the school setting with greater internal participation of students in selecting personnel, curriculum, resource allocation and conflict resolution. Through both representative and participatory democracy, the fuller involvement of groups of students (and perhaps teachers as well) would become part of the educational decision process. There would also be greater emphasis on group projects and assignments with respect to school activities and group awards in place of strictly individual performance and accountability. Schools would place greater emphasis on integrating student teams by race and social class as a reduction of hierarchy in production reduced the need for student stratification and hierarchy in education.

The emphasis on group decision-making would also increase the use of

co-operative modes of interaction in schools, both among teachers and among students. Co-operative work among small groups and training in group dynamics would become appropriate (Sharan, 1980). Co-operative problem-solving would also become more prominent in the school curriculum, as the work teams would be faced with particular challenges that would require a collective response (Slavin, 1980).

Individual decision-making

Under existing forms of work, most workers need make few individual decisions because to a very large extent the nature of the work tasks and their pace are determined by the equipment, technology and organization of production. With a high level of specialization of task, it is only necessary to master relatively few and simple job components and perform them on cue. But, under a team assembly approach, individuals will have a much wider range of potential tasks and decisions. For example, each co-ordinator will have to make decisions regarding the availability of supplies and the allocation of team members to avoid bottlenecks. Accordingly, it is likely that schools will shift their emphasis to a much greater extent than at present from memorization and routinization of learning to individual decision-making and problem-solving. The fact that individuals will have to make more workplace decisions as individuals as well as in their roles as members of a small collectivity will mean that they will have to be able to use information to provide insights to the work team as well as to intervene when needed in the production process.

Minimum competencies

At every educational level, existing schools tend to produce a wide range of competencies which are functional to production as long as there is a substantial hierarchy of skill needs. But, as the organization of production shifts to team assembly and a flatter hierarchy, large differences in skill levels are dysfunctional. That is, team assembly will require that all members of the team have skills and knowledge that are more nearly equal in order to share tasks and obtain full participation of all members.

These needs suggest two reforms in educational testing and curriculum. First, educational testing will tend to shift from an emphasis on normative tests to criterion-based ones. Normative tests represent an attempt to rank students on a distribution of performance without concern for what is good or poor performance in an absolute sense.[11] That is, norm-based tests can only indicate who is better or who is worse in a particular domain. They cannot indicate whether one meets a particular standard of performance set out by an

external criterion. In contrast, criterion-based tests set out particular guidelines of performance and measure proficiencies of students according to whether they meet those standards. Given the importance of ensuring that members of the work teams have the proficiencies to function in all phases of their work, it is the latter that is more important. Accordingly, it would appear that minimal competency approaches using criterion-based tests will become more prominent.

In a related way, a curriculum based upon mastery learning approaches is likely to rise in importance (Block, 1971 and 1974; Bloom, 1976). Mastery learning begins with the assumption that all students can meet minimal proficiencies if given the appropriate instruction and adequate time to meet those standards. The educational challenge underlying mastery learning is to organize the curriculum and instruction to bring all students up to mastery levels–as measured by criterion-based tests–in all the relevant skill domains. Mastery learning is not a dominant medium of instruction under a school organization which is predicated upon producing educational outcomes that are highly unequal and that rank students according to who is best rather than what is known. It would, however, seem to correspond more closely to producing the skills needed by work teams.

Peer training

Finally, under the team assembly approach, workers would be trained by fellow workers as new members were added to the teams. In this sense, all workers will have to have the capabilities of training their peers on the various tasks that the team performs. Under the more traditional forms of work, training is generally relegated to a few specialists or supervisors who are given responsibilities for initiating new workers into their roles. Likewise, in existing schools the instruction is the delegated responsibility of teachers and other instructional personnel.

The widespread shift to team production is likely to stimulate a much greater emphasis on peer tutoring in the schools.[12] While there have been many demonstrations and experiments with students-teaching-students, the practice is not widespread in education (Ehly and Larsen, 1980; Newmark, 1976; Verduin, Miller and Grees, 1977). Those experiments have shown that peer tutoring improves the performance and sense of efficacy of the tutor as well as the performance of the tutee (Allen, 1976). Thus, there appear to be significant educational pay-offs, in themselves, from this approach. But, even more important, a proliferation of peer tutoring in the schools will make every individual both a teacher and a learner. This is a central premise of the team approach, and it is also a more general feature of a democratic organization.

SUMMARY

The preparation of workers for organizational democracy must take place at many levels. These include the family, media, trade unions, schools and, of course, the productive enterprise itself. However, the role that must be delegated to schools, if such changes in productive organization were to arise, must be considered one of the most crucial. Historical analysis suggests that the lack of greater democracy in school organization is not attributable to a poverty of ideas as much as to a lack of movement in the productive sector itself to embrace democratic forms. If there is a signal move among work organizations to adopt greater democratic processes in their operations, it is likely that parallel changes will ultimately pervade the schools.

To the degree that such possibilities exist at present, they would seem to be driven by the productivity crisis of the 1970s and 1980s, a dilemma that derives at least partially from the lack of fit of the new and over-educated worker. Firms are likely to try to obtain greater commitment and work effort from the 'new' worker through an emphasis on participation in small groups that take responsibility for producing a sub-assembly or other component part of the product. There exist a wide range of educational reforms that have been tried and developed in some detail, but that have not seen widespread adoption in the schools because of the lack of demand for such reforms in the past. This paper asserts that future events may make such reforms highly functional.

NOTES

1. A more comprehensive exposition of the history that underlies this treatment is found in Bowles and Gintis (1976). A fuller treatment of the conceptual integration is found in Carnoy and Levin (forthcoming); Lempert (1981); and Levin (1980b). Specific details on the relation between workplace changes and educational changes are reflected in the dialectial model as presented in Carnoy and Levin (forthcoming) and Levin (1980b).
2. Although it is commonly thought that it is the skills that are learned by students as reflected in standardized test scores that determine their fortunes in the labour force–the concept of a meritocracy–the relation between test scores and earnings is remarkably trivial. For example, major studies of the determinants of earnings in the US have found that an increase of one standard deviation in test scores (a shift from the fiftieth to the eighty-fourth percentile) would increase earnings by about three per cent. In contrast, a standard deviation in educational attainment (test scores being held constant) would increase earnings about 25 per cent. See H. Gintis (1971); H. Levin (1978b); R. Meyer and D. Wise (1980); and K. Young and D. Jamison (1974).
3. For evidence of differences by sex and social class for Western Europe see Levin (1976); for black–white differences in the US, Levin (1979); and for social class differences in the UK, Halsey, Heath and Ridge (1980).

4. Increasingly there is evidence that the educational process is under control of 'new' curricula that set out mandated activities for teachers and students in fine detail, leaving little autonomy for either group as described in Apple, 1981. A more general analysis of the system of social control and its origins and logic as it affects teacher practice is found in Levin (1980a).
5. The phenomenon of over-education has not been equally prominent in all countries. For example, in the Federal Republic of Germany, it was estimated that in the near future only one university graduate out of three will be able to obtain a job commensurate with his or her training. In contrast, the UK has not experienced a sharp increase in educated labour relative to available positions. Other Western European countries, the US and Japan seem to be experiencing serious problems in absorbing an expanding pool of university graduates. For discussions see Drucker (1978); Federal Labour Office, Federal Republic of Germany (1976); Herzlich (1976); Levy-Garboua (1975); and Rumberger (1981). With respect to the absorption capacity of the economy for educated labour, this will depend upon how employment decisions are made by the state and by the private sector. Since individual firms expand employment only when it is consistent with increasing profits or shares of markets, it is clear that only under very limited circumstances will the aggregation of individual decisions of firms be consistent with full employment of an expanding educated labour force. With respect to state expansion of employment, this is extremely problematic at times of economic duress and fiscal crisis of the state. The overall limits are discussed in Levin (1976, pp. 162–4).
6. For a more detailed analysis, see Levin (1980b, pp. 157-66).
7. This seems to be the underlying motivation for the well-known US government report on *Work in America*. See US Department of Health, Education and Welfare (1973).
8. The details of Joseph Neef are taken from Lockwood (1971, ch. XX).
9. Further, the trade unions and political parties also have an important educational role to play. For a trade union educational programme on industrial democracy, see Turner and Count (1981). The role of a revolutionary party and worker councils at the plant level in a democratic transformation of the workplace is discussed in Carnoy (1981). Also see the discussion by Schuller (1981) on the nature of discourse and its educational implications with regard to industrial democracy. Gamson and Levin (1980) address issues of worker socialization in worker co-operatives.
10. The information on Saab/Trollhattan is taken from Logue (1981).
11. For a discussion of these issues, see US Department of Health, Education and Welfare (1979).
12. The reader may be struck by the similarity between peer tutoring and the Lancasterian monitorial approach. However, the differences are even more substantial than the similarities. In the Lancasterian setting, peer training was hierarchial and highly structured, with each monitor being held responsible for particular lessons which were given repeatedly to successive groups of children. The emphasis was on rote learning within a rigid curriculum and authority structure. Peer training in schools that would emulate team assembly would leave far greater flexibility to the tutors and their students, and the emphasis would be on student colleagues assisting other students in learning a variety of tasks, where the tutors would themselves be assisted by other students in learning tasks on which the former needed assistance. The social context in which peer training takes place is a crucial dimension.

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2

Exploring linkages between Dewey's educational philosophy and industrial reorganization

Arthur G. Wirth

The paper begins by pointing out that Dewey in his preface to *Democracy and Education* (1916) stated that his goal was to show how his philosophy of education was related to experimentalist and evolutionary features of science, the growth of democracy and the need for industrial reorganization. The argument is made that Dewey's interest in the linkages between education and industrial reorganization has been among the least explored features of his work. The paper is organized around three topics: (1) an explication of Dewey's discontents with American industrialism and education, (2) an analysis of Dewey's thesis that science may be viewed as a mode of learning and a moral enterprise which may be linked to democratic values, (3) an account of how this way of viewing science was related to his arguments for a parallel reorganization of industry and education to support the values of democratic humanism. The paper explores Dewey's contention that the humanist potential of science as a model for human growth was being perverted into 'scientific technique', a tool for the pursuit of pecuniary and material gain. Illustrations of the consequences for industries and schools are provided. Then Dewey's counter argument of the need for a conjoint re-organization of both schools and industries to make them 'good work' places is developed. Included are examples of his own efforts along these lines in the work of the Dewey Laboratory School at the University of Chicago (1896-1904).

The dominant vocation of all human beings at all times is living — intellectual and moral growth. (Dewey, 1916: 362).
The moral function of . . . [all] institutions is in last analysis educative. (Dewey, 1908: 405)

John Dewey stated in the Preface to *Democracy and Education* (1916) that his goal was to show how his philosophy of education was related to the experimentalist and evolutionary features of science, the growth of democracy, and the need for industrial reorganization. Even though he was forthright about his convictions regarding the connections of education, science, democracy and industrialism, the linkage he saw between education and 'industrial reorganization' has been among the least explored features of his work.

In this paper I shall (1) indicate the nature of Dewey's discontents with American industrialism and education, (2) point to his distinctive view of science as an emergent model of creative learning that is linked to values of democratic community, and (3) show how his way of thinking about science caused him to hold that a basic twentieth century task was to create parallel reorganizations of industry and education.

(A) Dualisms: Social and Intellectual as Sources of Repression

Dewey was sensitive to cultural reproduction in the schools which reflected social class and related philosophical dualisms, but he rejected economic determinism. His faith was that forceful analysis of the human costs of institutional dualisms combined with action through democratic processes could lead us toward a social democracy. A distinctive conviction was that by clarifying the human possibilities inherent in the values of science, we could identify a forming ideal of democratic community to guide the reconstruction of institutions.

Lewis Feuer's insightful essay, 'John Dewey and the Back to the People Movement in American Thought' shows how the emergence of Dewey's social concerns about class divisions in the late eighties and nineties left enduring marks on the development of his general philosophy (Feuer, 1959).

Dewey came to Chicago from the University of Michigan in 1894, during the administration of the reform governor, John P. Altgeld, when Chicago was a center of radical political thought. His departure from Michigan (1894) coincided with the end of an abortive effort to start a new kind of newspaper, *The Thought News*, in collaboration with the journalist Franklin Ford, an ec-

centric, syndicalist socialist. The general idea had been to help advance a new industrial order to be administered by the emerging labor unions. Ideas for guiding the movement in 'the interest of all classes, the whole' would come from intellectuals, 'men of letters', such as Dewey, who would awaken the awareness of the American people to economic facts by 'the socializing of intelligence'. The complex plan never got under way.

When Dewey arrived in Chicago, however, he soon gravitated to activities of Jane Addams' Hull House, which was becoming a center for those working on 'the side of the underdogs'. Dewey joined other intellectuals like Henry Demarest Lloyd and Prince Kropotkin in lecturing to the Working People's Social Science Club. His encounters with anarchists, single-taxers and socialists coincided with his statement in 1894, 'that economic needs and struggles have been the determining force in the evolution of all institutions . . . [is] too important as theory and . . . in practice to be overlooked.' (Dewey, 1908: 558)

The publication of Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899) gave Dewey the language for stating the socio-political basis of his philosophy. Shortly after reading Veblen, he wrote that philosophical dualisms are 'a survival from a dualistic past — from a society which was dualistic practically and politically, drawing fixed lines between classes, and dualistic intellectually.' (Dewey, 1908: 567) 'Our culture,' he said, 'is still tainted with an inheritance from the period of the aristocratic seclusion of a leisure class — leisure meaning relief from participation in the work of a work-a-day world.' (Dewey, 1940: 48)

As a philosopher of the back-to-the-people movement, Dewey held that social democracy means an abandonment of this dualist heritage. 'It means a common heritage, a common work, and a common destiny. It is flat hostility to the ethics of modern life to suppose that there are two different ends of life located on different planes; that the few who are educated are to live on a plane of exclusive and isolated culture, while the many toil below on the level of practical endeavor directed at material commodity.' (Dewey, 1940:48-9) The task he chose for himself was to define the grounds for a social and an educational alternative to a class divided society. But, as we shall see, he chose to distinguish his analysis from Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

In founding the University of Chicago Laboratory School in 1896, Dewey created a micro arena in which to combat dualisms.

The school, in addition to being a laboratory for pedagogical innovation, was also dedicated to a philosophy of social democracy to counter 'the competitive anti-social spirit and dominant selfishness in society as it is.' Of the school, Dewey said, 'here individualism and socialism are one.' (Feuer, 1959: 559) It will be useful to explore the thought processes which led Dewey to make such a statement as we aim to understand the linkage he saw between the reorganization of industry and education.

(B) Science and Social Reform

1. A Missed Opportunity

As we entered the twentieth century, Dewey identified the inventiveness of science and technology as the underlying source of an industrial, corporate, enormously productive economic order. He also saw science as an example of the capacity of all humans to tap levels of creativity that had been repressed by the social and intellectual features of feudalism. Science and technology, by lifting the ancient curse of scarcity, for the first time could provide a realistic opportunity to realize the promise of the democratic vision: to open to the people at large the possibility of personal and social fulfillment.

But the facts showed a betrayal of the hope. Dewey came to argue that the key to understanding the betrayal lay in realizing that the genie of science could point in two directions. Veblen's insights helped him see that science could either be turned into a servant of the materialist impulses of the leisure classes with competitive emulation by the middle and working classes, or, with proper analysis, it could be seen as the source of philosophy and practice which could serve the values of a social democracy. Dewey repeatedly analyzed the nature of the missed opportunity and its consequences.

In his *Ethics*, Dewey lamented the perversion of science to the crass aims of the leisured classes: ' . . . its generic social usefulness is limited by consideration of private profit. Applied science works powerfully upon society, but not so much as application of science as of the mechanism of pecuniary profit, to which science itself is subordinated.' (Dewey, 1908: 408)

On the eve of the depression, in *The Public and Its Problems*

(1927), Dewey stated that a science attached to the greed and power motive of the industrial revolution, instead of making a contribution to people's ability to control affairs for their own growth, has often contributed to the weakening of community and to an increase of human oppression. It has 'played its part in generating enslavement of men, women and children in factories in which they are animated machines to tend inanimate machines. It has maintained sordid slums, flurried and discontented careers, grinding poverty and luxurious wealth, brutal exploitation of nature and man in times of peace, and high explosives and noxious gases in times of war.' 'Man, a child in understanding of himself, has placed in his hands physical tools of incalculable power. He plays with them like a child, and whether they work harm or good is largely a matter of accident.' (Dewey, 1954: 175) To glorify the idea of 'pure' science under such conditions, Dewey said, is an escapist rationalization.

In *Individualism Old and New*, Dewey spoke about a value cleavage in American life. The democratic theory teaches that self-respecting people can design machines for their own humane and moral purposes, and religious teachings frown on a creed of self-indulgence. But, 'anthropologically speaking we are living in a money culture', where worth is measured by ability to get ahead materially in a competitive race which pits all against all (1962: 9)

The corrosive effects of materialism were being felt in all institutions including the schools. The aim of schooling, said Dewey, was being narrowed to 'getting on' in the world with growing pressure to teach utilitarian skills of making a living to suit the hierarchical skill needs of industry. Furthermore, the new 'science of education', co-opted by an industrial philosophy of social efficiency, was reducing learning to the measurable content of 'expert designed tests'. 'The school, like other agencies has been laid hold of by strong minorities and used to subserve their own ends.' (Dewey, 1908: 406).

Thus Dewey was identifying the predatory compulsions of Veblen's 'leisured class' and its corrosive influences in the culture at large as the source of the failure to realize the democratic promise. Dewey responded by assuming the obligation of demonstrating that the perversion of science was not inherent in science itself. On the contrary, science, when properly understood, could be seen as an ally of democratic humanism.

2. *'Scientific Temper' as Informing Image of Democratic Humanism*

Our disillusionment with science is now so deep that we can scarcely consider Dewey's thesis that a more fundamental meaning of science transcends its technical aspects: that science may be seen as a moral ideal and a liberating form of social relationships. Nevertheless, his position regarding the reorganization of industry and education makes no sense unless we face this distinctive feature of his philosophy.

It is useful to recognize that Dewey referred to science in the broad sense, as 'the scientific temper' — a general mode of inquiry and learning; while he used the term 'scientific technique' for science in its functionings in specific disciplines and in technological applications (Dewey, 1946: 170-75).

In its broad sense, Dewey saw the evolutionary emergence of man's capacity to do science as exemplifying our most effective mode of learning to date. As a tool of inquiry, 'the scientific temper' demonstrates the creative potential in all persons. It exemplifies our capacity to free our intelligence; to extend our perceptions of the world and our condition. It demonstrates, as method, that mind is not an entity, but a form of acting in the world. It shows our capacity to get in touch with confused, problematic, unsatisfying situations and to create ideas as plans of action that can be tested, tried and evaluated as instruments for effecting change.

Dewey was blunt in holding that science's demonstration of the human capacity for on-going learning set for us our central moral obligation: ' . . . the dominant vocation of all human beings at all times is living — intellectual and moral growth' (Dewey, 1916: 362), 'the moral function of . . . [all] institutions is in last analysis educative.' (Dewey, 1908: 405) Beyond that, Dewey argued that science revealed to us the kind of collaborative relations required to support our capacity for creative learning — and these coincided with values of democratic community.

Dewey saw the social relations represented in science as supporting the primary human needs for *individuality* and *community*. In Lewis Feuer's words, 'He was the first philosopher who dared to read democracy into the ultimate nature of things and social reform into the meaning of knowledge.' (Feuer, 1959: 568) By looking at science as an evolutionary development in human experience, it could be seen as providing an organic union between the needs of

freedom and individuality, and collective authority and community. 'Science has made its way by releasing . . . the elements of variation, of invention and innovation, of novel creation in individuals . . . who freed themselves from the bonds of tradition.' But while honoring the freedom of individual inquirers, the warranty or authority of scientific findings is based upon collective activity, cooperatively organized. 'The contribution the scientific inquirer makes is collectively tested and developed and, in the measure that it is cooperatively confirmed, becomes a part of the common fund of the intellectual commonwealth.' (Dewey, 1939: 358) The inquiry modes of scientific learning depend on critical, collaborative community.

From the evolutionary perspective science demonstrated the emerging human capacity to create conditions supportive of liberating learning. There was fit with democratic values of individuality and community. Dewey felt that the opening of American society and its departure from European traditions had supported a variety of democratic impulses. The question for the twentieth century was whether meaningful democratic community could be sustained or created under corporate, bureaucratic, industrial conditions. The test of excellence of a scientific/democratic society, if it could be created, was nothing less than whether it would support the learning of all its members in all its institutions.

(C) Features of a Liberating Society: Industrial Reorganization

In *The Public and Its Problems*, while struggling with twentieth century challenges to democracy, Dewey identified two essential requirements if democracy were to have a chance: (1) the need for free and full communication, like that needed by the community of science, and; (2) the need to counter emerging depersonalization by nurturing the vitality of face-to-face community within corporate bigness.

On the first point, Dewey said the needed shift from The Great Society to a Great Community can begin to happen only when 'a subtle, delicate, vivid and responsive art of communication' will take the place of manipulative public relations, to provide the public with a sense of the full consequences of associated activity.

Only then can democracy come into its own because 'democracy is a name for a life of free and enriching communion.' (Dewey, 1954: 184)

His second point underscored his conviction that 'democracy is more than a form of government, it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated living.' (Dewey, 1916: 100) This way of reaching for the core of democracy as *social* rather than political helps explain his two essential criteria of democratic community: 'How numerous and varied are the interests [or goals] which are consciously shared? How full and free is the interplay with other forms of association?'[1] (Dewey, 1916: 96) The two are illustrated, said Dewey, in the good family where all participate in a variety of intellectual, aesthetic and material interests, where the progress of one is seen as enriching the experience of the others, and where the limitations of parochialism are overcome by free interactions with a variety of external groups with alternative perspectives. These criteria set forth the conditions supportive of on-going learning or 'the reconstruction of experience'. They are congruent with the social relations of a scientific community when it honors the canons of its practice. If, in reality, scientists cling to discredited paradigms or engage in petty rivalries, they simply are betraying the conditions required to *do* science — to be effective learners. The underlying 'inherent promise' of the movement of science, said Dewey, 'looks forward to a time when all individuals may share in the discoveries and thoughts of others, to the liberation and enrichment of their own experience.' (Dewey, 1962: 154

But Dewey pushed for a special emphasis, basic to the practical re-formation of institutions in an age of corporatism: 'In its deepest and richest sense a community must always remain a matter of face-to-face intercourse.' It is conceivable, he said, to imagine the possibility of The Great Community marked by free and full intercommunication replacing the deceptions of The Great Society. That is indispensable, said Dewey, but it is inadequate, for it can never substitute for the qualities of face-to-face community. Ultimately institutions of the larger society must be judged by whether they have met their responsibility for 'enriching the experience of local associations.' In fact, the source of much of the instability and disintegration that mark twentieth century living comes from the invasion and weakening of primary human communities. 'There is no substitute for the vitality and depth of close and direct intercourse and attachment.' (Dewey, 1954: 211)

The forces against restoration of community are forbiddingly large, e.g., corporate aggregated wealth, and the growth of giant hierarchically structured bureaucracies. But, Dewey said, we should not underestimate the depth of the need, which is reflected in the mania for superficial excitement and the 'frantic search for something to fill the void.' Inner calm and order 'can be found only in the vital, steady and deep relationships which are present only in immediate community. (Dewey, 1954: 214)

In the final analysis, institutions like industries and schools cannot become 'good work' places until they support the powers of persons to learn and communicate at the work site itself. That means having the chance to be engaged in authentic interpersonal relations. It requires taking seriously the need to create smallness within bigness.

> The final actuality is accomplished in face-to-face relationships by means of direct give and take. Logic in its fulfillment recurs to the primitive sense of the word: *dialogue*. Ideas which are not communicated, shared, and reborn in expression are but soliloquy, and soliloquy is but broken and imperfect thought. (Dewey, 1954: 218)

With Dewey's insistence on the core of democracy as social democracy — 'conjoint communicated living' — it is not surprising to find that he gave the experience of dialogue a central role in human liberation. There are different nuances in the uses of dialogue by Dewey and Paulo Freire but the importance they both attached to the concept helps explain why both men resisted accepting any specific political forms as adequate in themselves. Specific political or economic practices always had to be weighed as means. In Dewey's case, the moral test always must be, do the means support authentic, supportive, liberating communication? Do the means help all people get in touch with their powers for creative learning, and for experiencing the twin needs for individuality and community? Attempts to reduce democracy to simplistic forms of 'let everyone vote on everything', or 'state ownership' can impede the primary moral obligations — as many doctrinaire 'progressive' teachers and other social ideologues learned to their sorrow.

With this conception of science/democracy as furnishing the moral directive, we may turn to the implications Dewey drew for industrial and educational reorganization.

In attempting to understand why life in industrial society was so disappointing, Dewey resorted to his favorite genetic method, i.e.,

the way to get insight into any complex phenomenon 'is to trace the process of its making — then follow it through the successive stages of its growth.' (Dewey, 1916: 251) Following this method, Dewey reviewed the fact that modern science and the philosophy of economic liberalism had been partners in attacking the oppressive restrictions of feudalism, i.e., its entrenched orders of economic and political privilege, and its dogmatic authoritarian restrictions on inquiry. The conjoint victory of the two was spoiled, however, when the collaborative inquiry values of science were co-opted by the self-serving values of capitalism. While essentially a critic of the corrosive effects of laissez-faire philosophy on industrial life, Dewey in his genetic analysis also chose to weigh the virtues as well as the defects of its doctrine of 'freedom'.

Dewey argued that ideas for institutional re-design had to work from the premise that the real issue is not to demarcate separate spheres for 'authority and freedom' as laissez-faire philosophy did by championing unlimited economic freedom and minimal public authority but to effect an organic connection 'between conservative factors in the very make-up of individuals' — factors which provide strength derived from enduring custom and tradition, and liberating factors deriving from 'the variable and innovating factors in the constitution of individuals.' The necessity for harmonizing the two 'is inherent in, or part of, the very texture of life.' (Dewey, 1939: 347)

Weighing liberalism from this perspective, Dewey held that liberalism's assertion of the value of the variable tendencies of human beings — 'those that mark off one person from another and that are expressed in initiative, invention, and energetic enterprise — is something that should be permanently embodied in any future social order.' And, yet, he declared it is also clear that liberalism had run its socially justified course. The positive values of liberalism had been perverted so that in Carlyle's terms all had been reduced to a 'cash nexus'. By now it was, in fact, 'engaged in justifying the activities of a new form of concentrated power — the economic which . . . has consistently . . . denied effective freedom to economically underpowered and underprivileged.' And Dewey added, it has now become an organized institution which resists all further social change and basic criticism. (Dewey, 1939: 351-52)

Liberalism's betrayal of its own principle of freedom of mind was due to a fatal flaw. Corporate capitalism, successor to classical

economic liberalism, failed to recognize that the industrial development of which it was so proud was primarily the fruit of the collective, cooperative intelligence of science and its technological applications. (Dewey, 1939: 360-61) Instead of considering whether this mode of human relations could be extended more widely, the proponents of laissez-faire put the new science to work 'in the interests of old ends of human exploitation. Historically, feudalism was brought down, but capitalism rather than 'a social humanism' took its place. Production and commerce were carried on as if the new science had *no moral lesson*, but only 'technical lessons as to economies in production and utilization of savings in self-interest . . . It left a void as to man's distinctively human interests which go beyond making, saving, and expending money . . .' (Dewey, 1916: 331)

Dewey noted that Americans under industrialism had available more power over nature and intellectual resources than were available to classical Athenians or to the people of the Renaissance. Why, he asked, has this collective enrichment not operated more to elevate the quality of our lives? The reason, he said, was that we live in a culture where our technique and technology are controlled too exclusively by 'the notion sedulously cultivated by the class in power, that the creative capacities of individuals can be evoked and developed only in a struggle for material power.' (Dewey, 1963: 89)

> . . . [Economic] associations are fixed in ways which exclude most of the workers in them from taking part in their management. The subordination of the enterprises to pecuniary profit reacts to make the workers 'hands' only, their hearts and brains are not engaged. They execute plans which they do not form, and of whose meaning they are ignorant — beyond the fact that these plans make profits for others and secure wages for themselves. (Dewey, 1963: 131-32)

As long as priority is focused primarily on economic gain rather than human dignity, he said, the intellectual and moral development of both workers and management will be one-sided and warped.

The alternative, Dewey said, is to know how the power of science, industry and technology can be directed toward 'making a different sort of world and society' one designed to assure 'an ordered expression of individual capacity and for the satisfaction of the needs of man . . . ' (Dewey, 1963: 188) And where industry itself can become an educative and cultural force for those engaged in it (Dewey, 1962: 133) Dewey elaborated the point when he said:

> The ultimate problem of production is the production of human beings. To this end, the production of goods is intermediate and auxiliary. It is by this standard that the present system stands condemned. 'Security' is not the end. Machinery and technological improvement are means, but again are not the end. Discovery of individual needs and capacities is a means to the end, but only a means. The means have to be implemented by a social economic system that establishes and uses the means for the production of free human beings associating with one another on terms of equality. Then and then only will these means be an integral part of the end, not frustrated and self-defeating, bringing new evils and generating new problems. (Dewey, 1939: 430)

At the end of the great depression, Dewey supplemented his critique in *Industrialism Old and New* with a barebones outline of his priorities for 'The Economic Basis of the New Society' (1939):

1. Remove debilitating unemployment, with the state as agency of last resort, providing 'some kind of productive work in which a self-respecting person may engage.'
2. Use the kind of cooperative and administrative intelligence employed in wars to attain large social goals, e.g., to attack poverty with its vitiating human effects.
3. Make better use of society's human power by giving workers a greater voice in the control of industry, instead of having them experience external control 'where they have no interest, no insight into what they are doing, and no social outlook upon its consequences . . . This means an increasing share given to the wage-earner in controlling the conditions of his own activity.' [Again Dewey was echoing a Veblen-type complaint about a dualist separation which led machine workers to become mechanized in their habits of thought while managers could work with ideas and knowledge.]
4. Require scientists to acknowledge intellectual responsibilities for the social effects of their work. 'Such a science would be at the opposite pole to science conceived as merely a means to industrial ends.' It would contribute toward building a humane society in which there would be 'a demand for a science that is humanistic, and not just physical and technical.' Such a science would replace, too, the dualism which sees man pitted against nature with ' . . . a naturalism which perceives that man with his habits, institutions, desires, thoughts, aspirations, ideals, and struggles is within nature, an integral part of it' — willing to employ nature as an ally of human ideals and goals. (Dewey, 1962: 153)

Thus Dewey saw the machine age as a challenge to extend the promise of democratic values to the entire population. The solution to the crisis in culture he saw as dependent on nurturing creative individuality within collaborative community. The search for such tensional balance had to be explored experimentally in an open, never-finished way. The reader of Dewey waits in vain for a com-

mitment to a final economic position. He voted for the Socialist Party on several occasions, and was active in a long list of organizations on the political left. He was both supporter and critic of New Deal reforms. His criticisms of capitalism became more strident in the decade of the great depression. He never wavered, however, in his insistence on the priority of democratic values, in any economic-political program. Dewey noted that his indictment of economic liberalism might seem to commit him to support a collective planned economy as alternative. But, he said, his argument about the twin human needs for freedom and community applied here also: ' . . . while movements in the direction of collective, planned economy may cure evils from which we are now suffering, it will in the end go the way of all past attempts at organization of authoritative power.' Unless we come up with fresh ways of effecting an 'organic condition' of organization and freedom, we are doomed to witness the dreary historical replay of oscillation from one principle to the other that has 'so characteristically marked the past.' (Dewey, 1939: 356-57)

Marxist-oriented scholars have despaired over Dewey's unwillingness to join the Marxist critique of capitalism. It is argued that his unwillingness to accept the centrality of class conflict reduced him to an apologist of the status quo. But there is nothing surprising in Dewey's refusal to move beyond a democratic planning society which included defense of civil liberties rooted in the liberal tradition. In the 1930s, Marxist-Leninism was insisting on the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Dewey could not follow. Dictatorial means cannot be separated from dictatorial consequences which destroy the conditions for experimental learning and growth. Dewey's fundamental quarrel with Marxist-Leninism was with its inadequate resolution of means/ends issues (Cork, 1949).

By the end of the thirties with the potent examples of the economic depression in the USA and the powerful surges of fascism and stateism in Europe, Dewey said:

> The urgent . . . question . . . is whether the needed economic-social changes . . . can be effected in ways which preserve and develop what was fundamental in earlier liberalism, or whether social control is to be instituted by means of coercive governmental control from above in ways which destroy . . . all that was best conserving in older democratic ideas and ideals: intellectual and moral freedom; freedom of inquiry and expression; freedom of association in work, recreation, and for religious purposes . . . (Dewey, 1939: 425)

(D) Educational Reconstruction

If Dewey saw waste in industry, deriving from social dualisms which cut working people off from the intellectual underpinning of their work, and which kept them from exercising their capacities for collaborative thought and action, he also saw waste in the schools of industrial age children and teachers. School learning was isolated from daily experience; conceptual learning was isolated from the holistic impulses of children to inquire, manipulate, and interact socially; 'cost efficiency' compulsions turned learning into competitive rivalry for quantitative scores measured by 'scientific testing', teachers were reduced to processing packaged content designed by remote experts, and administrators, diverted from collaborative communication with staffs, were turned into social control agents who 'kept book' on test score results and 'noise levels'.

Philosophically, Dewey fought the dualisms in the nineties in his efforts to create an 'experimentalist' alternative to empiricism and idealism. His philosophical interests led him to found the Laboratory School aimed at creating practice consistent with values of social democracy and experimental inquiry.

In his original 1895 Plan of Organization, he stated that he saw the central problem of education as one of ' . . . harmonizing of individual traits with social ends and values. Education is a difficult process . . . precisely because it is so extremely difficult to achieve an effective coordination of the factors which proceed from . . . the psychological constitution of human beings with the demands and opportunities of the social environment.' (Dewey, 1895)

His comments on the school reflect his efforts to avoid the isolation of 'science as technique' from its humanizing possibilities, and to create a re-enforcing unity between the general methods of science and democratic social life.

In reflecting on the school's approach, Dewey remarked that the goal was to help students to:

> realize that scientific method is not something purely technical, remote and apart, but is the instrumentality of socially controlled development. As their studies move on from year to year, the subjects labeled scientific and those labeled social and historical are kept in vital unity, so that each side deepens the meaning of the other. (Mayhew and Edwards, 1936: 431)

The democratic process of the school, based on the model of

science, emphasized the emergent quality of community. A guiding hypothesis was that when individuals are given the leeway to experiment and to seek out and develop their own powers, then the emergent community will have healthy qualities of both spontaneity and social control. The hope was that when members of the community learned to assess a situation before framing a plan of action, and to weigh the consequences with regard to its social value, then spontaneous activity would not become disruptive and uncontrolled.

In 1903, as Dewey prepared to leave Chicago, he pulled together ideas for an alternative to the emerging bureaucratic urban school system. In 'Democracy In Education' he said that the fundamental flaw of the public school system was its failure to recognize that its primary educative responsibility lay in '*the freeing of intelligence*' of students and teachers. The result was that 'the teacher has not the power of initiation and constructive endeavor which is necessary to the fulfillment of the function of teaching. The learner finds conditions antagonistic . . . to the development of individual mental power and to responsibility for its use.' (Dewey, 1940: 62-3) In turning his attention to the experience of teachers and students, he contrasted the industrial concept of social efficiency as reflected in the dominant school system with the concept of efficiency based on the science/democracy ethic he sought for his own school.

In the work places of industry and in schools influenced by them, social control and social efficiency, he said, are concerned with subordinating individuals to class authority and to acceptance of the status quo. In the economic model, rational division of labor reduces jobs to mechanical routines and defines ends in terms of material output and dollar return. This reflects 'a depreciatory estimate of the masses' as the managing elites assume that the common man can be bought off by material rewards. These are said to be the marks of 'scientific management', but a more perceptive view of the moral end of science provides a different image of efficiency.

> . . . ultimately social efficiency means neither more nor less than capacity to share in give and take of experience. It covers all that makes one's own experience more worthwhile to others, and all that enables one to participate more richly in the worthwhile experiences of others . . . In the broadest sense, social efficiency is nothing less than that socialization of *mind* which is actively concerned in making experiences more communicable; in breaking down the barriers of social stratification which make individuals impervious to the interests of others.

In short, the moral meaning of defensible social efficiency in a democracy is when 'a social return [is] demanded from all and the opportunity for development of distinctive capacities [is] provided for all.' (Dewey, 1916: 141-42)

Dewey then set about identifying features which distinguish schools as 'good work' places: the criterion being whether they support the freeing of intelligence for all who work there.

Where *teachers* were concerned, his first attack was on emerging bureaucratic centralism which, for example, located authority for text selection in hands of people outside the system, or which gave superintendents the power to appoint experts to dictate subject matter and educational methods to a body of passive, recipient teachers. These efforts at reform by scientific experts are by their nature doomed to fail, said Dewey. When teachers are denied access to 'their intellectual and spiritual individuality' they can only follow the prescriptions of outside experts in a mechanical, capricious manner. The prevalence of external dictation only perpetuates conditions of inefficiency; lack of interest; and inability to assume self direction; and works to retain incompetents because the best minds will not 'submit to conditions which no self-respecting intelligence likes to put up with.' (Dewey, 1940: 64-68)

The only lasting remedy is for work design that gives all opportunity for 'free and full play of their own vigor'; that permits every member of the school system 'from the first grade teacher to the principal of the high school some share in the exercise of educational power.'

> All other reforms are conditioned upon reform in the quality and character of those who engage in the teaching profession. Just because education is the most personal, the most intimate of all human affairs there, more than anywhere else, the sole ultimate reliance and final source of power are in the training, character, and intelligence of the individual [teacher] . . . But as long as school organization . . . tends to repel all those of independent force, of intellectual ability, or tends to hamper them in their work . . . , so long all other reforms are compromised at their start . . . (Dewey, 1940: 68)

There is evidence that the Dewey School made moves in that direction. The teacher historians of the school reported that 'association and exchange among teachers was our substitute for what is called supervision, critic teaching, and technical training.' (Morros, 1978: 39) The lure of the values of the school is illustrated, too, by the decision of Ella Flagg Young, a vigorous

educational statesperson of her time. She resigned her position as Assistant Superintendent of Chicago Schools as a protest against the policies of a superintendent who proposed to reduce 'school work to the lines of a business corporation' and to make 'mere tools and clerks of the teachers'. She joined the Laboratory School where she collaborated with Dewey on six monographs in education.

The undemocratic suppression of the individuality of teachers, Dewey said, is linked to a suppression of the intelligence of *students*. The limiting of mind to mastery of ready-made material is a violation of a principle of moral self-directing individuality. Dewey warned, however, that statements like that, often lead to misguided swings to exaggerated 'freedom'. Educators need to know that the heart of educational reform lies in securing the degree of freedom *and* social direction necessary to support the *freeing of intelligence*. For an understanding of what 'freedom as freeing of intelligence' means, Dewey once again turned to the work of scientific investigators as the instructive model. 'In that freed activity of mind which we term "science" there is always a certain problem which focuses effort, controls the collecting of facts and observations, and the calling into play of imagination as a source of fertile suggestions for formulating possible solutions . . . (Dewey, 1940: 70) Ongoing experiences of thinking and acting are accompanied by reflections on their meanings which leads to the reconstruction of experience — the seeing of new meaning which can lead to further ideas and tries. This way of defining education, Dewey said, does not depend on expert engineering of instruction, but on creating conditions which make it necessary for students to take an active share in building questions and participating in means for resolving them.

A distinctive attempt to move learning in this direction in Dewey's elementary school was the use of 'the occupations' such as weaving, gardening, cooking and construction as centers around which study in the physical sciences, mathematics, history, geography, humanities and the arts could be integrated.

The main function of the occupations, said Dewey, should be first to give children examples of the types of processes men utilize to create the primal necessities of life; second, to reveal how changes in techniques have enabled men to advance from primitive to civilized stages; and finally, to provide opportunities for children to feel a sense of personal involvement, to engage in manipulative

and expressive, as well as mental activities, and to grow in social insight. Through historical study, students can see the pervasive influence of modes of production on all other phases of life including social class and other dualisms, and they can perceive the revolutionary changes wrought by science and technology. (Wirth, 1972: 189-92)

He tried to link his ideas for the pedagogical uses of the occupations to the missed opportunity of industry to use the scientific-technological base of new industrial processes to create a 'social humanism'. Industry, said Dewey, has become technological, based on discoveries in mathematics and the physical sciences. As such, industrial occupations have infinitely greater intellectual and cultural potential than ever before. But unless workers come to learn the scientific and social meanings of their work they inevitably sink to the role of appendages to the machines they operate. The intellectual *possibilities* of industry have multiplied but actual industrial conditions have made work less educative for the masses than in pre-industrial times. Dewey concluded, that under these conditions: 'The burden of realizing the intellectual possibilities inhering in work is thus thrown back on the school. (See Wirth, 1968: Chapter 9, "The Occupations")

The schools, however, instead of seizing the opportunities, tended to introduce a narrow vocational training aimed at teaching specific saleable skills. In a passage in *Democracy and Education*, Dewey indicated how the schools missed an opportunity for fulfilling their primary obligation of freeing intelligence by failing to make educative use of 'the occupations'.

> Both practically and philosophically the key to the present educational situation lies in a gradual reconstruction of school materials and methods so as to utilize various forms of occupations typifying social callings, *and to bring out their intellectual and moral content*, . . . This educational recognization cannot be accomplished by merely trying to give a technical preparation for industries and professions as they now operate, *much less by reproducing industrial conditions* in the school. The problem is not that of making the schools an adjunct to manufacture and commerce, but of utilizing the factors of industry to make school life more active, more full of immediate meaning, more connected with out-of-school experience. The problem is not easy of solution. There is a standing danger that education will perpetrate the older traditions for a select few, and effect its adjustment to the new economic conditions more or less on the basis of acquiescence in the untransformed . . . unsocialized phases of our defective industrial regime. Put in concrete terms, there is danger that vocational

> education will be interpreted in theory and practice as trade education; as a means of securing technical efficiency in specialized future pursuits . . .
> Education would then become an instrument of perpetuating unchanged the existing industrial order of society, instead of operating as a means of its transformation. (Dewey, 1916: 369-70)

Summary

I have explored Dewey's idea that we need a parallel reorganization of industry and education to realize the values of democracy in an era of science and technology. This position is rooted in aspects of his general philosophy. As we entered the twentieth century, Dewey argued that the issue was whether we would conceive science as a technical phenomenon to be put at the service of mindless material gain: this would be reflected in industrial and educational arrangements which would reflect class and intellectual dualisms — dualisms which separated people into technical elites and passive consumers. Or, whether we would see science intrinsically as a mode of learning — a mode of inquiry, problem solving, reconstructing of experience including reflection on value choices which could be open to all persons — and which encompasses basic human needs for individuality and collaborative community. The moral obligation of a democratic society becomes then to reject the shallow and destructive lure of an economic philosophy committed only to MORE — and to reconstruct itself so that it supports the on-going learning of all its members in all its institutions. The kind of efficiency in which a democracy can put its final trust to meet pervasive, rapid change is one in which 'a social return is demanded from all and opportunity for development of distinctive capacities is provided for all.' (Dewey, 1916: 141-42)

Notes

1. Professor J. Burnett (1980) has underscored the significance of Dewey's emphasis on democracy as social rather than political in 'John Dewey and the Ploys of Revisionism'.

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3

Market versus mandator: Control structure and strategies for change in school organizations.

Gunnar Berg

Abstract: Berg, G. 1984. Market versus Mandator. Control Structure and Strategies for Change in School Organizations. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research 28,* 49-70. An organization's activities are a function of the *external control* originating in its environment and the *internal control* regulating the interaction of its various component parts. In other words, an organization is shaped by its external and internal control structures. The nature of this control varies from one organization to another, the character of the control structure being dependent on the tasks or functions the organization is there to perform. It is argued that the type of control structure existing determines (a) what theoretical model has the greatest explanatory value in an analysis of phenomena occurring in a specific organization, and (b) what strategy for change corresponds to the control structure in question.

Gunnar Berg, Lecturer, Department of Education, University of Uppsala, Sweden. Address: P. O. Box 2109, S-750 02 Uppsala.

Introduction

This article consists of two parts. The first is devoted to an introductory discussion of the connection between type of control structure for a school system and the type of strategy for change that may be chosen. This section concludes with a concrete illustration from the US. The Swedish school system is more mandator controlled than market controlled. The type of change strategy which best corresponds to the former is the DO model (presented in Wallin & Berg 1983 and Berg & Wallin 1983). The second part of this article gives a description of a training program which is to be implemented in Sweden during a four-year period. It is designed for civil servants in state school administration and is based on the DO model.

Market Control, Systems Theory, and Organization Development (OD)

A manufacturing company is ultimately governed by the market in which its operations are located. In order to survive, it must be able quickly to recognize signals indicating changes in the market forces affecting it. In other words a company has to evolve as great an ability to adapt to its market as possible. This in turn presupposes a flexible internal organization with effective channels of communication and decision-making procedures.

Organizational phenomena within a firm which has a control structure of this kind can be explained and understood from a systems theory point of view. In brief, this involves a view of the organization as a system whose technological and social components are in constant interaction. Underlying systems theory are such conceptions as adaptation, feedback, differentiation, homeostasis, and so on (cf. Gouldner 1961). An organization is viewed as a complex whole which can be divided into a number of subsystems all striving to achieve some form of flexible equilibrium with one another. A change in one subsystem causes some kind of change or adjustment in the others (cf. Katz & Kahn 1966).

A model closely allied to the systems way of thinking is that of the organic organization, introduced by the two Scotsmen Burns & Stalker (1961), which, briefly, entails the following:

— communications, control and authority in the organization are characterized by networks;
— internal organization is controlled primarily by a community of interest between organization members and the company;
— company management are co-ordinators rather than traditional givers of commands.

On the basis of the organic systems approach, a change model known as OD (organization development) has been evolved. Several different definitions of OD have been put forward, basically classifiable according to whether they focus on social psychological (Bennis 1969) or sociotechnical criteria (French & Bell 1978). A social psychological definition of OD assumes that changes in the people working in an organization result in changes in the organization as a whole. A sociotechnical approach to OD works on the assumption that both 'human' and other activities (administrative, productive, etc.) fall within the scope of OD work. In practice, the difference between these two views of OD turns out to be fairly minimal. One of the pioneers of OD, Wendell French, an advocate

of the sociotechnical approach, said in an interview (see Berg & Söderström 1983) that OD ultimately has its roots in the social activities of organizations.

To sum up, then, OD as a strategy for change is founded on the organization in question ultimately being controlled by environmental market forces and its activities thus being explainable and understandable from a systems point of view.

Control by the 'Mandator', Rationalist Theory, and Developing the Organization (DO)

Not all organizations are firms, nor do they have the same tasks and functions as firms. Schools, for instance, are institutions set up by society/the State to perform certain specified tasks. Society or the State can thus be regarded as the *mandator,* or *principal* (in the sense of the legal relationship of principal and agent), of the school system (cf. Abrahamsson 1977; Berg & Wallin 1981). Planning is a key concept as far as control of such organizations is concerned. The mandators create the organization to achieve certain aims which they consider desirable. Thus the organization is a 'product of the plans of an acting subject' (Abrahamsson 1977) rather than of organically 'natural' processes.

The approach embodied in rationalist theory corresponds to this view of organizations. Abrahamsson (ibid.) describes it as follows:

> The rationalist approach has two basic characteristics. First, the actions of organizations are seen as a *function of goals,* which are set up by some individual or group of individuals (the organization's mandator). Second, it is assumed that the person or persons who are able to implement the goals on a day-to-day basis are capable of carrying out an *inventory of different alternative ways of reaching the organization goals,* and that the individual is able to choose an adequate means for performing the chosen strategy in the most economical fashion ('economy' construed broadly).

A change model founded on this view of organizations is in my opinion not compatible with an OD approach, whether of the social psychological or sociotechnical variety. An attempt to understand and explain the day-to-day work of schools must take into account the fact that they are institutions created by society to perform specific tasks. And thus, equally, a strategy for change for use in schools has to be compatible with their overall control structure. In another context Erik Wallin and myself have evolved a change model — we call it the DO model (Wallin & Berg 1983;

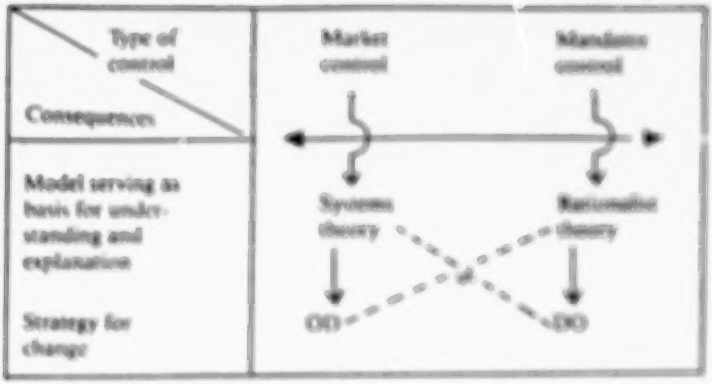

Fig. 1. Market control versus mandator control.

Berg & Wallin 1983), which is in harmony with the control structure governing Swedish schools. The key concepts of this strategy are *boundaries* or *limits* and *knowledge*. If schools are to develop in accordance with society's educational aims and if it is to be possible, moreover, to criticize and question these aims, school staff and other interested parties must have a basic knowledge of the forces defining the limits of school activities. What I am referring to is, first, an understanding of the school as a social institution charged with often conflicting tasks. And, in addition, knowledge relating to curricula as instruments of control, to the school as an organization, and to the potential for and conditions governing local school development. The above discussion can be summarized as in Fig. 1.

The gist of my argument so far, then, is that OD is a fruitful model of change in organizations controlled by market forces, while DO is similarly serviceable in an organization controlled by its mandator. It would appear more problematical, however, to use DO in a business enterprise or OD in a Swedish school, for example.

Examples of the Interrelationship Between Control Structure and Strategy for Change

Among the most prominent figures in OD in the North American education system are Professors Richard Schmuck and Philip Runkel

and their colleagues at the University of Oregon. As far as we can understand, the Oregon team stand for a social psychology-oriented type of OD (cf. Schmuck & Miles 1975). As was indicated earlier, such an approach is based on the conception that changes in human activities within an organization have implications for the organization as a whole. In line with basic systems ideas, the Oregon group views organizations as consisting of a number of subsystems, all of them 'populated' by organization members. The relationship between these subsystems is characterized by both integration and differentiation, the degrees of which are dependent on the demands placed on the organization by its *environment*. The following quotation suggests what Schmuck and his collegues mean by environment.

> School environments in contemporary society are incredibly complex and undergoing rapid change all the time. The school that was equipped to serve white, middle-class college-bound students five years ago, for example, may now find itself with a large proportion of students having very different needs and values. (Schmuck et al. 1977, p. 10)

'Environment' thus appears to have basically the same meaning as I earlier ascribed to the word 'market'.

Having interviewed Schmuck (see Berg & Söderström 1983) and some of his colleagues and read a number of their books and articles, we (Magnus Söderström and myself) have come to the conclusion that OD in the field of education has two main aims:

— to create a high capacity for self-renewal in schools, this in turn presupposing
— that the subsystems function as efficiently as possible.

A school with a sound capacity for self-renewal (organizational adaptability) exhibits, according to Schmuck et al., such characteristics as the following:

> An adaptable organization is continually and consciously solving problems that arise either because groups in the organization's environment are pressing for change or because new goals are being established within the organization itself. (Schmuck et al. 1977, p. 10)

A capacity for self-renewal thus implies that the organization as a whole is 'by itself' capable of adjusting in response to indications of change coming from its environment and of passing on these signals to its subsystems as quickly as possible. These signals may then result, for instance,

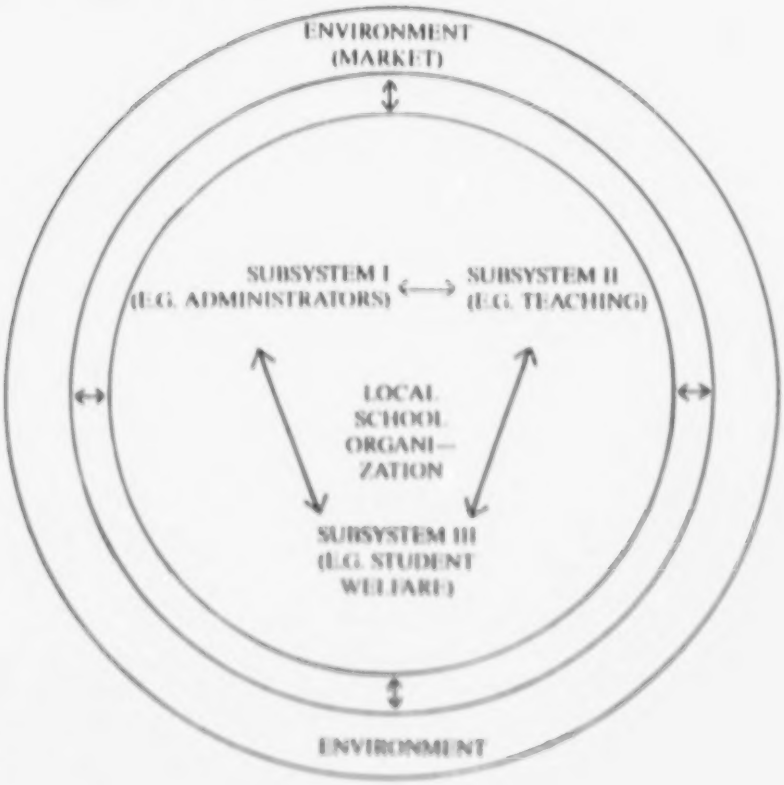

Fig. 2. Market control over a school.

in the present pattern of integration and differentiation among the subsystems being changed.

The second main objective of OD work in the field of education is to make the subsystems — which together constitute the school as an organization — as efficient as possible. According to the Oregon researchers (ibid., pp. 19-20) this requires the subsystems to be characterized by

- well developed channels of communication
- clearly stated goals which are familiar to the people who work in the subsystem in question
- an ability to handle conflicts that arise

— effective meeting procedures
— a high problem-solving capability
— a sound ability to make decisions and handle pressure for change.

This discussion can be summed up as in Fig. 2.

The idea, then, is that a school with a high capacity for self-renewal will recognize pressure for change in its environment, 'environment' here being equivalent to the local socio-economic community. Calls for change are transmitted to the organization's subsystems, which, thanks to their efficiency, have the capacity to 'implement' these changes internally.

Local OD Consultants

On the initiative of Schmuck, Runkel and their colleagues, what is known as an OD cadre has existed at the district level in Eugene since 1971. This cadre consists of a number of teachers, principals and school administrators who have undertaken OD functions in the district's schools in line with the ideas described above. The cadre is composed of volunteers, who receive no special remuneration for their consultancy work. Cadre members only act as consultants in schools other than the one at which they are regularly employed.

The idea behind the cadre scheme is to create a group of OD consultants who can be said to be in close touch with their clients in their regular jobs, but who are nevertheless outsiders. The Oregon team explains the thinking behind the cadre as follows:

> First, each part-time specialist becomes a channel of communication between the cadre and the subsystem in which he or she holds a regular job. Second, each specialist becomes a source of support and expertise for other cadre members who are working with a group of which the specialist is regularly a part. Third, when they consult in subsystems to which they do not regularly belong, cadre members are in effect outsiders, which has the result that their perspective on the client's situation can be relatively unbiased. (Schmuck et al., p. 527)

What, then, are the functions of cadre members? Here are a few examples:

— to help the school concerned to solve communication problems of various kinds
— to assist in formulating school goals
— to tackle and resolve conflicts
— to solve problems in a systematic fashion, etc.

These 'peer-consultants' can only perform such functions if they carry out their consulting roles with strict neutrality. They should not, in other words, take sides with any particular party, but concentrate on solving

in an impartial manner the problems defined by their clients. The purpose of the enterprise is to create within the 'client school' a structure which promotes its capacity for *self*-renewal.

The cadre can be characterized as a service organization whose job is to increase the efficiency of subsystems of schools with a view to improving the schools' self-renewing capability. What constitutes inefficiency, or, to put it in different terms, what constitutes the 'problems', is defined 'inside' the client schools themselves. The peer-consultant thus operates on terms laid down by the school in question itself, terms influenced to a greater or lesser extent by pressure from its environment. As a result, there is generally a high degree of *readiness* for various OD interventions at the client school concerned. Clients, moreover, are aware in broad outline of what steps the peer-consultant will take to deal with the problem which has arisen (e.g. provide training in meeting techniques of various kinds so as to improve communications at staff meetings). As has just been pointed out, the OD philosophy of the Oregon team includes, as a precondition of the peer-consultant's work, the ethical principle that he or she should behave in an impartial manner towards the various groups in the client school. Of course this neutrality has its limits, in that the consultant needs to be neutral primarily in relation to the various groups *within* the school.

The work of the peer-consultant can be summed up as follows:

1) The consultant is engaged by the client school to solve specific problems. These problems have been defined by the school itself, and have arisen more or less under the influence of the school's environment.
2) The consultant works according to the following principles:
   - the subsystem in which the problem has arisen is identified;
   - appropriate measures to solve the problem are implemented;
   - as a result the subsystem becomes 'more efficient';
   - which in turn leads to an improvement in the self-renewing capacity of the school, *i.e.* the school becomes better able to adapt speedily in response to internal and external demands for change.
3) Central to the peer-consultant's working strategy are a high degree of *readiness* in the client school and *personal neutrality*. A high degree of readiness arises from the fact that the problem is defined 'from within', and the consultant's neutrality is a prior condition of his authority in the client school.

Problems Facing OD Work in Eugene

On a visit to Eugene (see Berg & Söderström 1983) we were informed that a district curriculum which had recently been adopted by the school board changed the control structure of the community's education system. The curriculum, known as *Middle School Guidelines*, comprises grades 6, 7 and 8, i.e. the final grade of elementary school and the first two of junior high school. These guidelines consist of both outline class schedules (time-tables) for each grade and more general formulations of educational ideology, calling for changes in traditional school activities. Among other things, the changes are intended to ease the transition from elementary school, where the teaching of each class is mainly the responsibility of one teacher, to junior high school, with its subject teacher system. To make the transition as smooth as possible it is, according to the guidelines, necessary for teachers to co-operate more closely between and within the two types of school. In addition, there must be less rigid boundaries between the different subjects at junior high school.

The new curriculum has clearly given rise to some protest on the part of the teaching profession in the district, who to all appearances have an entirely traditional view of their jobs — that is, they are 'lone wolves' and subject specialists. They wonder why school activities which have previously been successful should be changed.

Where does the OD cadre fit in here? After all, an OD consultant is supposed to be neutral and work on the basis of the client school's wishes. Is it possible or reasonable for the consultant to violate these basic principles and concentrate his efforts on promoting school change in line with the aims expressed in a curriculum? We put this question to a member of the cadre and were given the following answer:

> It's a real dilemma for cadre people, because it's not the way they see themselves functioning most effectively ... What people in the cadre ordinarily would like to do is to be a process consultant, not a content consultant ... People are trying to be very careful not to get cornered into being the school district's 'hired gun'.

According to the cadre philosophy, our informant went on, school administrators are responsible for matters of content, leaving cadre members to continue to perform their more social psychological roles as 'process consultants'. Consequently collaboration between school and consultant might function as follows: the principal may set up staff committees whose task is to suggest how the new guidelines can be implemented in the school; consultants can then come in, say, to improve

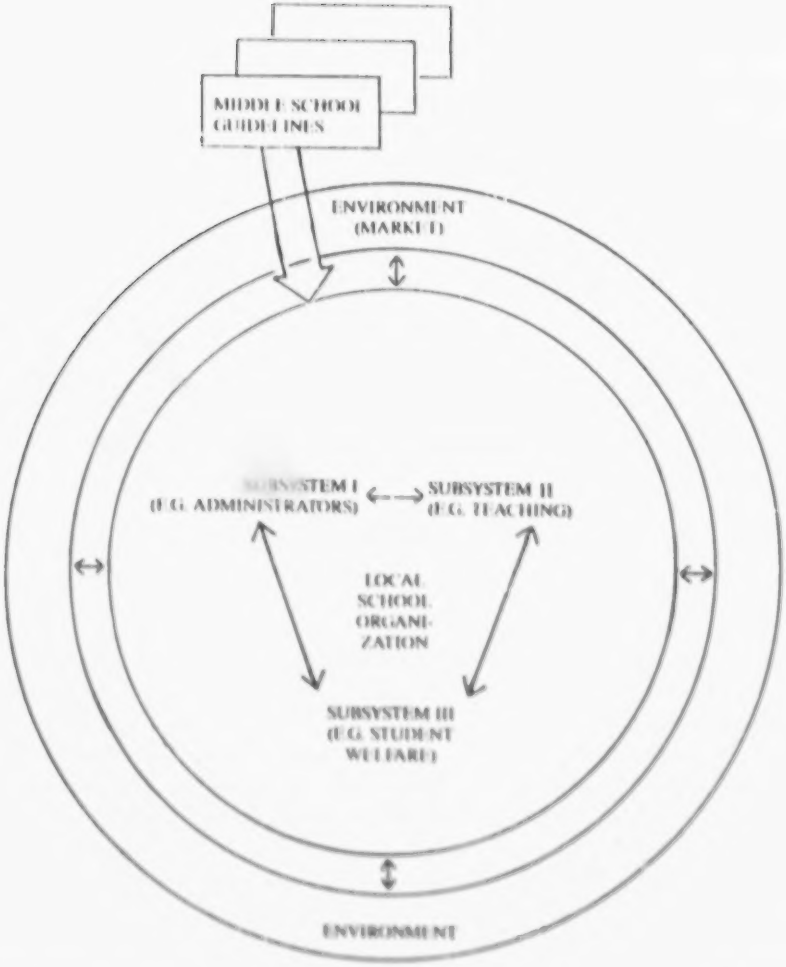

Fig. 3. Control over the school by its mandator.

communications in these committees and between them and the staff as a whole. The job of the consultant is thus to create effective channels for information and decision-making, while not being directly involved with the content of school programs. The cadre will thus remain a service organization which turns out when school staff need help in certain clearly defined situations.

It would, our interviewee agreed, be possible of course to create a new type of consultant, one of a more 'ideological' kind, with the job of helping to implement the *content* of the new guidelines. However, it would not be realistic to expect present cadre members to assume such a function, since one of the main reasons why people volunteered to join the cadre was that they wished to develop their own skills in the areas in which the cadre has so far functioned.

The inclusion of the new guidelines, the consequences of which are briefly described above, results in an amended figure (Fig. 3).

The introduction of *Middle School Guidelines* entails a new control strategy in the education system of Eugene. Control over schools is, following the adoption of these guidelines, no longer the internal concern of schools and their immediate environments. Criteria for deciding what school activities are acceptable have in other words been moved *outside* individual schools. Members of staff protest against this new control strategy, and are at a loss to understand why procedures which work well need to be changed. We take this to mean that schools are working well in terms of the old market control model, based on the adaptation of schools to their socio-economic environments. In the systems sense they can thus be said to be in equilibrium.

Measured against the criteria of the curriculum — that is, criteria laid down outside the immediate domain of individual schools — school activities are, however, clearly less successful. In other words, *problems* can no longer be defined in terms of interaction between school and neighborhood (market), but in terms of the discrepancy between the aims embodied in the curriculum (i.e. those of the mandator of the school system) and actual day-to-day school activities.

The cadre of OD consultants appears to be placed in an awkward position by the new curriculum. Their knowledge base comprises various OD techniques which depend for their usefulness on a high level of readiness for OD interventions on the part of clients. This readiness is dependent on the problem, which the consultants have been called in to help solve, being one of major concern to the clients — i.e. clients must have defined the problem themselves. If pressure for change is brought to bear forcibly from without, this readiness will presumably be considerably reduced and one of the mainstays of the OD consultant's work thus removed.

The informant quoted above gave an example of how an OD consultant could assist in efforts to implement the new guidelines, assuming responsibility for the more technical aspects of the process. This is of

course quite possible, but the fact remains that the problem has been defined outside the organization and readiness for change is thus limited.

An additional problem arising if a consultant of the kind I have described is to be engaged in a development project instigated by a curriculum, with the task of trying to influence the development of a school in line with curriculum objectives, is that he or she then ceases to be neutral. The consultant ends up as more of an advocate of the underlying ideology of the curriculum.

The conclusion to be drawn from all this is that two basic conditions of the work of OD consultants are drastically changed if their role shifts from that of 'process' consultants to 'content' consultants (or from OD to DO consultants, to use my terms). That is to say the consultant has to

— relinquish his insistence on neutrality and impartiality, and
— be prepared to work in schools with a lower degree of readiness.

To all appearances, the cadre organization is tailor-made for creating a high self-renewing capacity in OD terms in the client schools involved. But when the control structure affecting school activities changes from market control to control dominated more by the mandator of the school system, the usefulness of an OD cadre of the kind described clearly decreases. What is needed is a new type of school consultant, concentrating more on reducing the gap between school reality and curriculum aims.

The above example demonstrates how the type of control structure determines the type of strategy for change to be chosen. In other words, the control structure can be regarded as the independent variable, the strategy for change as the dependent variable in this connection. The American education system is not, like its Swedish counterpart, subject to a homogeneous control structure. Some schools are controlled more by their 'markets', others more by their mandators. The practical consequences of a change from one structure to another are I believe quite clearly demonstrated by the above example.

U2 Education, Presentation of a DO Training Program

Background and Evolution

The Swedish state school administration is made up of the National Board of Education and twenty-four county education departments. The traditional tasks of the state control administration can be described in terms of control and supervision. The national board and the education

departments have checked to see that operations within local school districts have corresponded with the government's intentions. A reform came into effect on 1 July 1982 and partially changed the nature of duties carried out by the state school administration. Both the national board's and the educational departments' monitoring functions were toned down, and other tasks, such as support and *stimulation* of the schools' own local development work, were given greater emphasis. In other words, the net result of this reform is that the state school administration is now to be more of a consulting agency and less of a monitoring body.

With this reform as background, Professor Erik Wallin and associates at the Department of Education, University of Uppsala, were given the assignment to work out an educational program for civil servants within the state school administration. The purpose of the program was to facilitate the transition of school administrative personnel to their new responsibilities. We produced a proposal for an educational program — called U2 education - which was subsequently tested in a pilot project with approximately 30 participants and involving two county education departments. Following various minor modifications, the U2 education program is now being conducted regularly and is slated to extend over a four-year period.

The theoretical foundation for the U2 program (see Berg et al. 1982) is the DO model, which was summarized in the first part of this article (and which is treated more fully in Wallin & Berg 1983 and Berg & Wallin 1983). The key concepts in the DO strategy were said to be *'boundaries* or *limits* and *knowledge*. If schools are to develop in accordance with society's educational aims, and if it is to be possible, moreover, to criticize and question these aims, school staff and other interested parties must have a basic knowledge of the forces defining the limits of school activities'.

In the following, I will summarize the purpose and content of the U2 program.

Evaluation and Development Work

According to a well known definition (for example, Scriven 1972), evaluation concerns an observed value as measured against an expected one. According to Kilborn & Lundgren (1974), this means that the result of an evaluation can be expressed as a quotient, with the observed value as the numerator and the expected value as the denominator. During recent decades, evaluation research has to some extent been directed toward refining the significance of this quotient. Even more than this,

however, researchers have worked to broaden the traditional view of evaluation as expressed in Scriven's definition. Dahllöf (1971) has underscored the importance of *process* and its relation to the external frames within which education takes place. Nordén (1974) argues that the fundamental role of evaluation is to generate knowledge about the types of results that can be achieved under different conditions, with different resources and operating under different objectives. From such a perspective, it is difficult to conduct evaluation according to standardized models and/or techniques. The role evaluation is to play must be defined on a case by case basis within a particular context.

Wallin (1981, p. 162) writes that 'evaluation consists of constructing knowledge which is compared against a standard'. In this sense, 'standard' is synonymous with basic premise(s), or fundamental points of departure. This implies that decisions must be made as to which premises should guide the evaluation as well as what its content, form and methods should be. The point of departure could be theoretical; that is, it could consist of a theoretical model for the object of evaluation. Franke-Wikberg & Lundgren (1980) argue for the initial premise that the evaluation is to provide knowledge. Another approach which is related to the theoretical consists of choosing the curriculum as a point of departure. For this, one would have to interpret the intentions of the curriculum concerning different levels of goals and resources, also taking into account the system of rules and other frameworks which might be operating. This is obviously the approach we take here.

I have argued above that evaluation work can be viewed as a check, a measurement against some given standard. Within the Swedish school system, the standard for evaluation is essentially the same as the curriculum which is in force. This establishes the goals for primary and secondary schooling. It is important to point out that these goals are not to be taken as indications of specific end products desired. According to government bill 1975/76:39 (commonly referred to as the SIA bill), 'Goals specify the direction in which efforts should be aimed. It is not always mandatory to question whether the goals have actually been achieved' (p. 310). This citation reflects the view that *process* should be given priority over product. In other words, it is more important to establish that education in the comprehensive school is in line with the goals and other guiding principles established for its different levels than to speak about the degree to which it has actually achieved these goals.

Consequently, the curriculum specifies the outer limits for the school system, sanctioned by society. Generally speaking, this means the

primary task of evaluation for the school system is to provide a basis for answering the following questions:

— Do the activities being evaluated fall within the limits specified by the curriculum, as spelled out in more specific guidelines for the various subjects, study programs etc?
— Are these activities being developed in a manner which is consistent with the general intentions of the curriculum?
— Does the evaluation increase our general knowledge about the school system?

From the perspective we have outlined above concerning the role of evaluation and its general function within the context of the school system, I argue there is no difference in principle between evaluation work on the one hand, and development work on the other. This proposition is substantiated in the following paragraphs.

Simply stated, change can be taken as a verifiable difference between two conditions, over time. *Development* involves change as well, but it concerns change in the direction of a *desired* state of affairs; in other words, in relation to a *goal*. Development work, then, is in part conducted within an established framework, in part designed to take advantage of the flexibility which exists within state sanctioned limits. The following passage from the national curriculum (Läroplan för grundskolan 1980) describes how it is the official duty of school personnel continually to conduct development work: 'School personnel and pupils are to design their working day with the help of available resources and within the framework of the curricular guidelines and regulations' (my translation). Inherent in this statement is that evaluation and development can be seen as two sides of the same coin. In this way, development work entails checking to see that school activities are carried out within the existing framework. It also provides opportunities for questioning this very framework. According to this definition, supporting and stimulating local educational development work means furthering the basic intentions of the curriculum, thereby providing a safeguard against going beyond the behavior that has been sanctioned. If a violation of this sort should occur, then, analogous to our definition above, the exercise should not be viewed as development work.

Future Role of National Board of Education and County Education Departments: Inspection and Support

In the future, the traditional supervisory role of the state school administration will be augmented to incorporate the function of supporting and

stimulating development work in local school divisions. As explained above, local education development work is to be conducted in a manner pursuant to the basic intentions of the curriculum. As a consequence of the newly designated supporting and stimulating functions, inspection must also become part of the responsibilities for the National Board of Education and the county education departments. However, this form of supervision is different from that which has been the job of county education departments in the past. The current version is not a form of supervision aimed at conforming to rules. Rather, it involves checking to see that school activities fall within the sphere of operations indicated in the curriculum. This does not discount inspection to see if rules have been followed, but these rules must be defined in pedagogical terms, according to the intentions of the curriculum. I examine this issue in greater detail below. Before doing so, I would like to give an example of active goal-related inspection. The curriculum specifies that work units shall be formed within the schools. To check whether this is carried out, it is not enough to verify that the units do or do not exist. One must also determine whether these units exhibit a pedagogical function in line with the curricular (Lgr 80) intentions.

The Curriculum as a Standard for Development and Evaluation Work in the School

Interpreting Basic Intentions of the Curriculum. One prerequisite for meaningful development and evaluation work is that the people who are conducting the work devise some form of standard to serve as a reference point for their subsequent observations. For reasons explained above, these standards should be derived from the curriculum. The problem, however, is that the overarching goals in the national curriculum and goals for the individual subjects and study programs are formulated in such a way as to be only to a limited extent useful as a platform for development and evaluation work. This stems partly from the construction of the curricular plans, that they are more process than product oriented; and partly from the fact that the curriculum is a result of compromise between different political ideologies. One might say the curriculum expresses a kind of ideological "least common denominator" which by its nature is rather diffuse in its implications. If in spite of all this, the curriculum is to serve as a concrete point of departure for evaluation and development, it must be interpreted in some way. This relates to what was said earlier. An essential aspect of increasing competence in evaluation and development work involves preparing people

who do the work. They must be able to devise standards, as described above. In our opinion, this is an essential precondition for making the transition from a traditional rules inspection function to one which is related to overall goals.

In the following, I present a proposal for a development program which aims to increase the readiness of people to transform the curriculum to a concrete point of departure for evaluation and development work in the school. My proposal may be applied to (comprehensive) primary, secondary and/or adult education. The examples used to illustrate the case, however, are taken from the curriculum for the (comprehensive) primary school.

Outer and Inner Limits. The curriculum and other official documents contain a number of directives aimed at steering the school system in the direction desired by society. These directives establish the outer limits for what is allowed within the school system. In addition, there are certain mechanisms which set 'inner limits'. These are derived from the 'culture' (spirit, atmosphere, tradition etc.) which pervades the local school division. What actually goes on in the school system comprises some portion of the total range of all activities that could be *possible*. The *unexploited potential for action* can thus be defined as the difference between outer and inner limits (see Berg & Wallin 1983; Wallin & Berg 1983). This line of reasoning can be illustrated as in Fig. 4.

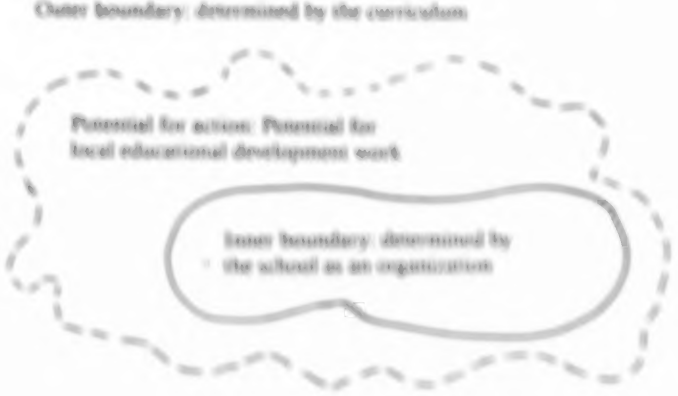
Outer boundary: determined by the curriculum
Potential for action: Potential for
local educational development work
Inner boundary: determined by
the school as an organization

Fig. 4. Outer and inner boundaries.

Our argument raises certain central questions which should be considered in the course of any educational program aiming to increase the participants' competence to deal with issues connected with development and evaluation work in the schools. These fundamental questions are:

1) What determines the outer limits? The answer to this lies in curricular theory and in relationships outside the school.
2) What *are* the outer limits? The answer to this question must be derived from interpretations of the basic intentions of the curriculum.
3) What determines the inner limits? The answer to the question is bound up in the complex of problems inherent in the school as an organization.
4) What are the dimensions of the sphere of allowable action? The area of educational development work holds the answer to this type of question.

On the basis of the above, primary components of an educational program should be: curricular theory, curricular analysis, the school as an organization and educational development work.

Objective. Thus far, I have reviewed the principles supporting the design of a certain content for education in evaluation and development work. Curricular theory, curricular analysis, the school as an organization, and educational development work have been identified as important elements in such an education.

Against the background of what has been put forth above, the objective for U2 education can be described as follows: To create the basis for participants' being able to

— use the curriculum as a concrete point of departure in their evaluation and development work
— function in the combined role of resource person and 'goal inspector'
— on a more general level, and in the company of others, be able to use and develop general knowledge about the school which is afforded through evaluation and development work and the particular relation to the curriculum described above
— better the competence and increase the knowledge of state school administrators in the area of evaluation and development work.

How Should a Civil Servant in the State School Administration Ideally Function after Having Taken the U2 Education? As a DO consultant!
It was postulated earlier that change can be defined as a verifiable difference between two conditions. Development entails change in the direction of a desired end; that is, a goal. A DO consultant is a person

whose responsibility is to support and stimulate local development work; in other words, work involving change in line with the basic intentions of the curriculum. Consequently, the DO consultant's job is not to tell the actors involved in development work exactly what should be done in one situation or another. Rather, the consultant's primary duty is to see to it that the various actors are conscious of the different structural conditions within the school so that with this knowledge as their guide, they can convert overarching goals into practical action. The DO consultant is neither neutral nor totally restricted (or adapted) to individual settings and situation. The consultant's role rests upon ideological grounds insofar as the ultimate goal of his or her activities entails safeguarding the basic intentions of the curriculum.

The consultant in the DO model should thus be viewed as a resource in the local development process. An important part of this process is that the actors involved should work out a basic, common view which they can then use in motivating various measures and proposals. This common view may also be described as an interpretation or local adaptation of the curricular intentions. Throughout this process, the DO consultant should serve as a partner in discussion and as a 'boundary guard'.

The common, basic view alluded to above allows actors to step back a bit from their immediate environments, to obtain some perspective on what they do. This may in turn encourage further reflection. An essential task for the consultant is to keep this process going, thereby creating a breeding ground for active, local development work. The ultimate objective for such an arrangement is to develop the necessary conditions, locally, for increasing the impact of curricular goals upon daily school activities. This should be facilitated partly by making school personnel more conscious of what, theoretically, may promote or obstruct local development work; partly by actually devising and testing concrete measures for the development work itself. And to see that this is done, the consulting function should gradually be worked into the organizational structure of the local school division.

The work of a DO consultant may span the entire spectrum of school activities. That is to say, such a resource person is not restricted to the social aspects of the school system. It also means a DO consultant may work among administrators as well as among instructors in the schools. To illustrate, the consultant may be involved in formulating principles for the use of resources in drawing up time plans and also in questions of instructional methodology. In the course of such work, the consultant will discover conflicts, both within and between groups in the school,

Table I. OD versus DO.

	OD	DO
Purpose	To improve the efficiency of subsystems with a view to increasing the organization's capacity for self-renewal	To bring the school more closely into line with the aims of its mandator (as embodied in the curriculum)
Who defines the problems?	Organization members on the basis of their own experiences. Defined 'internally'.	The problem lies in the discrepancy between the mandator's aims and reality. Defined 'externally'
Consultant's role	Situation-oriented specialist	Generalist advocating the curriculum
Typical activities	— Conflict resolution — Communications training	— Analysis of 'outer' and 'inner' limits to school work — Determination of the freedom of action available — Encouragement and support for actions making use of the freedom available
Knowledge base	OD techniques	Curriculum theory, the school as an institution and organization, local development work
Sphere of school on which consultant's work focuses	Social aspects of activities	Activities as a whole
Theory base	Applied social psychology (systems theory)	Applied sociology and political science (rationalist theory)

and will meet groups of teachers and others who find it difficult to speak to each other. As a result, the DO consultant must be versed in interpersonal and communications training, techniques of problem and conflict resolution, and how to conduct a meeting. Knowledge and skills in these areas are as important for DO consultants as they are for OD consultants. Important as these capabilities are, however, it is our opinion that they should be subordinate to obtaining knowledge about the school and its activities for which we argued above.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I should like to compare the OD and DO strategies with reference to a number of key concepts, indicated in Table I. In so doing, an illustration is provided of how we view the difference between OD and DO strategies on a more theoretical level.

To avoid misunderstandings, it should be pointed out that a number of common OD techniques can also be used to advantage in DO (e.g. interpersonal and communications training). The difference is that in DO such techniques are placed in a different context and do not have the same overall purpose.

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NOTE

1. This article was originally presented at two conferences: Conference on the relationship between educational research and organization theory, Uppsala, 17-19 August, 1983 and the ISIP conference on school improvement at Louvain, Belgium, 10-15 October, 1983.

Source: G. Berg, 'Market versus mandator. Control structure and strategies for change in school organizations', *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, no 2, 1984, pp 49–70

4

An apprenticeship in democracy

Tony Knight

Two approaches to discipline have been current in schools in recent years: control and pastoral care.

In the case of control theories, the basic problem is whether they are educational, whether they make a good school. By some standards they may appear to work, but if we define education as a formative rather than a reformative experience, they may be inadequate. Under control theories, we lose many students from the life of the school. Conflict between pupil and teacher increases, and schools become confused in their aims.

Pastoral care programs are a kind of crisis management. My experience of them is that they can exhaust teachers' energy and patience within a short period of time. To be constantly on call to solve student 'problems' is a debilitating personal process for teachers. It removes them from inside the classroom to the corridor or staffroom therapy session.

My major criticism of pastoral care programs is that they operate *outside* the school curriculum and the social relationships encouraged make students *dependent* on teachers. Intellectual autonomy for students is not actively encouraged — warm, comfortable feelings are, but these on their own are the haven of the romantic humanist. Students do need warm, supportive and non-exploitive school environments, but not at the expense of intellectual competence and responsible teaching.

I recognise the arguments that pastoral care advocates raise — that unless you solve the personal problems of students, teaching becomes impossible. The cause of disrupted classrooms is said to be the undisciplined behaviour of particular students. This argument needs to be teased out for its cause and effect dimensions. It could be that the minority of students who are held responsible for disruptive behaviour are systematically denied ways to be productive and competent by processes *inside* the organisation of schools — not necessarily by what they do or do not bring to school from their social/economic backgrounds (Simkin, 1983). It is worth considering the possibility that the more we design discipline or therapy management programs in schools the worse it becomes for the students (Knight, 1985).

There is presently considerable enthusiasm in schools for models of classroom

management (Charles, 1981) or discipline, such as that of Glasser (1969). A difficulty with models such as Glasser's is that they operate *outside* the school curriculum and process and are not part of the everyday teaching of the school. Such models are imposed on top of what exists in the school. This presents difficulties for the school administration and deflects attention away from education. However, while there may not be a model suitable for all seasons, or stages of learning, there are helpful strategies that can be adopted at various grade levels within the school.

My proposal is that we should move from control and crisis management policies to a concept of *democratic schooling*. I start from the position that discipline is critical to the teaching and learning process. Informed learning cannot take place in an undisciplined classroom.

However, a careful distinction should be made between discipline policy and a disciplined student. Self-discipline may only occur when students feel competent and are able to negotiate their social environments. What is being proposed is a form of democratic apprenticeship from grades one to twelve. This would require students to be both integrated and represented within the governance process of schooling. Traditionally schools have been autocracies, a most effective way to exclude knowledge of democratic practice (Hess and Torney, 1969). Knowledge is the central core of the democratic model, and student self-discipline emerges from particular forms of knowledge and understanding. This has to be taught and experienced — it will not happen through a process of social or ideological osmosis.

Democracy has two traditional roots; one, the ability to participate in government, and two, protection from the abuse of government. The next step is to define what is meant by democratic schooling and to forward a proposal for student-teacher rights.

A definition of democratic schooling is schooling that integrates students to a formative learning process, and encourages the widest access to knowledge and decision making within school and community. Such a definition has implications for the procedural or structural values that shape a school's organisation and the way it decides its educational aims. But why this proposal? Why should we want a democratic schooling? I suggest firstly, because the discipline, control, or pastoral care programs now in schools either create hostility or, worse, a willingness from students to passively accept the order of the school (Connell et al, 1982; Coventry et al, 1983); and secondly, because a participatory democracy can only be as competent as its electorate, and education is essential to this understanding.

However, we as teachers need to know much more about democratic practice and how it relates to the classroom.

The purpose of democracy within the school is to arrive at decisions in the *absence* of consensus. This is especially important in schools where there is a wide range of language and cultural backgrounds, and where some differences are held to be non-negotiable.

For a form of participatory democracy to work in school, *everyone* must be sufficiently educated to participate in an informed debate and to understand that a majority decides only to the extent that minority rights are not violated. Student rights then become a topic for educational analysis and debate. Therefore, if schools are to prepare students for democratic citizenship, the school must recognise that *individual rights and social responsibilities* are the core of all democratic institutions. The concepts of rights, responsibilities and consequences must be taught. Expecting students to accept and understand rights and responsibilities without prior learning and experiences is not feasible (Princes Hill Primary School, 1984).

The consequences that emerge from infringing these individual rights have to be determined by the constituents within a school (teachers, administrators, parents and students). Students have to understand that the breaking of these 'rights' will always have negative consequences. All such consequences must be made clear in advance, and logically they must not infringe the students' own rights. Consequences for negative behaviour should always aim to integrate the student into the school rather than marginalise, punish or segregate. The teacher in this process is an intellectual presence who is both accountable and negotiable in terms of

rules, discipline, and counterproposals from students, parents and peers.

However, individual rights, while at the heart of the democratic process, need to be supported by a curriculum actively teaching lessons in democracy. This involves analysis and debate on social issues, examination of the history and logic of individual rights, and the history of the struggle for equal opportunity.

Democracy, to be practised in schools, requires student participation, initially under teacher guidance. But as students move through the school, they can take increasing responsibility and involvement in planning, evaluation and curriculum development. They can also be required to defend their actions with logic and evidence. A democratic school is an integrated school, not a melting pot where differences are filtered away, but a school where differences in race, gender, class and ethnicity can be drawn upon for problem solving and question forming. Students co-operate in order to solve the problems they face in a complicated and diverse world. This process has as its ultimate aim the education of students in order that they become responsible authorities.

It should not be surprising that so many children (and adults) show little sense of social responsibility. They have not been so educated. For example, a report from the Australian Electoral Office (1983) on the attitudes toward enrolment and voting of young Australians made these comments:

> The single most important reason why young people fail to register to vote is because they do not see any direct link between the

RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES
of students and teachers in a democratic school

EXPRESSION OF UNPOPULAR OPINION

Rights to freedom of speech (not slander or defamation) and peaceful assembly.

Responsibilities of students to listen and not obstruct the opinions of others;
of schools to provide forums for assembly and student press.

PROTECTION OF PRIVACY

Rights to be protected from the abuse of authority;
to be protected from harassment;
to be protected from unlawful attacks on honor and reputation.

Responsibilities of students to protect their own and others property;
of the school to provide parents and students with access to student's personal record, test results and evaluations;
of the school not to divulge student records without permission of student and/or parent.

DUE PROCESS

Rights of access to legal protection under the law;
to be presumed innocent until proven guilty;
to participate in classroom and school decision making.

Responsibilities of students to be ac *countable* for personal actions;
of the school to provide forums for students to negotiate grievances;
of the school to issue each student annually a list of their rights and responsibilities.

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

Rights to be free from subservience to the will of others;
to be free from cruel and unusual punishment;
to be treated with dignity;
to maintain a social identity.

Responsibilities of the school to create choices in language communication;
of students and teachers not to humiliate, harass or physically maltreat others;
of students not to infringe upon the rights of others.

> Government or Government institutions and their own lives. They become apathetic and will not take the steps necessary to become enrolled.
>
> The same apathy is responsible for their failure to acquire any real political knowledge leading many young people to feel incapable of recording a meaningful vote. They feel that if they can't vote wisely there is little point in bothering to enrol. (P.6)
>
> Central to an understanding of enrolment failure in young Australians is the realisation that the majority of this group reach 18 years without any feelings toward or knowledge of our political system and what it means to live in a democracy.
>
> Politics is a thing apart — yet another of the institutions of our society that controls us while we can have no effect on it. As the young people see it there is a wide gap between these institutions and 'me' and they have no feeling of participation or belonging associated with the electoral system nor any belief that anything that they can do would have any effect. In short the vote has no personal relevance.
>
> More than any other single factor, the lack of any perceived direct relevance of the political system (and, equally, their concomitantly perceived inability to influence the course of political events) forms the basis of electoral inactivity amongst the young. (P.10)

Stages in a democratic apprenticeship

Grades 1-3

Students will become acquainted with the concept of rational order. The teacher is in full control of the classroom where the emphasis is to explain the need for rules and the consequences for rule breaking. The teacher's role is to begin to establish with students an understanding of where the rights of one individual interfere with the rights of another (hence the need for the school to have established a code of rights and responsibilities in order for this teaching to have a common informing core).

Simulation games can be utilised where students experiment with the roles of judges, legislators and executives. In other words they play with the parameters of democratic thinking. Canter's (1976) model of 'assertive discipline' can be of considerable assistance in helping teachers take charge in these early grades. This model insists on 'decent responsible behaviour' from students and teachers with limits set on inappropriate student behaviour and understanding consequences for such behaviour. Teachers set well in advance their criteria for appropriate consequences and establish firm and humane control within the classroom.

Grades 4-6

Experiments can be carried on in these grades with representative government. Students can begin to understand how democratic 'freedom' carries with it responsibility, and consequences. Children could be randomly assigned to a variety of government functions. Every student would act as a legislator and formulate rules; sit on a jury to deliberate over rule interpretation, and administer or help plan student or school activities. Every student should be able to experience each of these activities in turn. Assignments to these activities should not be made on personal appeal as often happens at this level of schooling. When this happens leadership roles are allocated to a minority, often on the basis of gender or economic status.

The teacher's role is to take an active part in the deliberation of decisions, to monitor student decisions and to ask of students what possible consequences are likely to arise from their actions. Teachers act as resources for debate and analysis — it is an active leadership role. Students must be allowed to make mistakes and learn from them. Dreikurs and Cassel (1972) offer an interesting classroom model at this stage of student learning. They believe that discipline is not punishment, it is teaching students to impose limits on themselves. Their version of a democratic teacher is one who provides firm guidance and leadership. Students must have a say in setting rules and learning what the consequences are for misbehaviour. Poor behaviour from students always has consequences and accountability from students is part of this process. Dreikurs and Cassel (1972) argue that teachers who are most effective in setting classroom discipline are those who teach democratically.

Grades 7-12

At this stage the progression is for students to experiment with elections. Students learn what is involved to nominate, campaign and vote for candidates. There should be for students a measure of control over school rules, treatment of rule breakers and general student activities. Such activities could in-

clude an advisory capacity in deciding aspects of curriculum content. Sequencing of activities within this model of student access to control over decisions that affect them is important. Each step is part of developing logical stages of responsible behaviour and participation. If a student representative council is to establish a student forum for example — students must be involved in formation of rules that apply to the forum. Self-discipline can only be valued as important if the student rights or school rules are seen as important and part of student deliberation.

This process of democratic change should be gradual and developmental. It is easier to relax authority than try to take it back. Student representatives could be elected every six months — and students would not be eligible to be re-elected in the same year.

The skills and knowledge needed for decision making, surveying student opinion, meeting management, negotiation and conflict resolution can be built directly into the curriculum through a variety of subjects.

The teacher's role becomes one of a review authority. Any restrictions on student latitudes of behaviour must be set in advance. Student actions which infringe student-teacher rights, or which lead to destructive consequences, must be returned for student consideration. Students in senior years must have rights and responsibilities clearly established as participants in the schooling process.

Limitations to student governance

There are limitations to student decision making. I have argued here that students should have more power, but there are limits to that power. Students cannot be expected to be a dominant force in a school — teachers and parents have rights also. There are in any institution a number of constituents with a legitimate claim to the decision making process. Responsible adult authority is an intellectual presence — it cannot be abdicated. There will be differences between staff and students within this proposed model. Conflict is both inevitable and desirable in pluralist institutions if some differences are held to be non-negotiable. However if rules are seen as means to attain a legitimate goal of education, then rule violations can be handled on a rational basis. If the logic of the school institution views accountability (explaining the necessity of rules) and negotiability (being willing to accept sound student decisions) as important, then the school climate gives room for the advocacy and the legitimate claims of different school groups. All of us in schools will be in for less difficulty if we can view student rights as a basis for school policy and not as a loss of adult power.

There are several models that are helpful references at this stage of development: Pearl (1972), Knight, (1975); Jones et al (1982); McPherson, (1973) are all examples of theory and program practice with school governance. In several examples (i.e. Jones and Pearl) democratic practices are set within a broader framework of aims based educational goals. These proposals argue that schools allow students to test the power of their own ideas in debate and program practice.

The school in this model has a common centre. Each stage of the model concentrates on the knowledge necessary to contribute to the making of a democratic school.

Parent and student rights are the same as teacher rights. Violation of individual rights affects all social relationships within an institution. Teacher leadership is required within the proposed model. An integrated learning community requires agreed goals of how to integrate students within the school and classroom. Teacher leadership is required in order to create such a learning environment. Demanding co-operation from students in present day schools will not be accepted by students. School discipline is a process of analysis, negotiation and due process. process.

Participatory democracy as it has been defined in this model is not just a political ideal, but a way of living on a daily basis. Freedom has been defined as not licence to do what one wants, but shared responsibility. The knowledge and understanding required to attain this level of self-discipline is learnt, therefore it must be taught.

Our classroom practices need to connect to the larger picture of democratic practice if each child is to be seen as a unique and dignified human being. A school succeeds democratically when everyone's competence is valued and is put to use in a variety

of socially desirable projects — the same may be said of a good society. In a good society, rules are always means never ends — the same for a good school.

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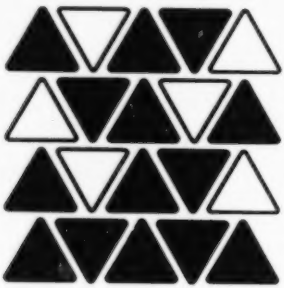
Source: T. Knight, 'An apprenticeship in democracy', *The Australian Teacher*, no. 11, 1985, pp. 5-7.

Annotated bibliography



Apple, M.W. 'Curricular form and the logic of technical control'. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, vol. 2, 1981, pp. 293–319.
Apple argues that a complex process of deskilling and reskilling exists at the level of day-to-day practice in schools today. This can signify important changes in the school's role as a site of ideological reproduction. Apple argues that given the contradictory class position of teachers, and given the history of class, gender and race resistances to the logic of capital, these changes will have contradictory effects which open up the possibility of progressive action within the state apparatus.

Berg, G. *Schools and the Neo-rationalist Model of Organizations*. Uppsala Reports on Education, No.17. Department of Education, University of Uppsala, 1983.
Berg sets out to clarify the difference between a traditional rationalist and a neo-rationalist model of organisations. Based on earlier work done by Abrahamsson on the neo-rationalist model of organisations, this monograph discusses traditional systems theory and rationalism, as well as schools and the neo-rationalism model of organisations. It is worth reading because of the different perspective on organisational theory.

Bowers, C.A. *Cultural Literacy for Freedom*. Elan Publishers, Eugene, Oreg., 1974.
In this book Bowers looks at schooling from a phenomenological perspective. In similar fashion to Dewey, he assigns the teacher a political role. On the other hand he maintains that when you ask the public about curriculum you've already compromised freedom of enquiry even though your goals may be democratic. The community, he says, will place conflicting demands on the school which can't be met.

Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. *Schooling in Capitalist America*. Basic Books, New York, 1976.
Bowles & Gintis present considerable evidence that demonstrates, despite liberal hopes, that education does not serve as a panacea for social inequalities. The roots of inequality, they argue, lie not in the educational system, but in the capitalist economy. This Marxist analysis of schooling presents not only a powerful critique of liberal educational reforms but also points to possible alternatives.

Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. 'Education as a site of contradictions in the reproduction of the capital-labor relationship: Second thoughts on the "correspondence principle"'. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, vol. 2, 1981, pp. 223–42.
This essay focuses on the issue of the contradictions within education and contradictions in the capitalist social formation resulting from the specific nature of the education system. The authors argue that the goals of progressive educational reform can be divided into two complementary projects: the democratisation of the social relations of education, and the reformulation of the issue of democracy in the curriculum. It makes interesting reading coming five years after *Schooling in Capitalist America*.

Carnoy, M. *Schooling in a Corporate Society*. David McKay Company, New York, 1975.
This volume is a collection of essays in the areas of schooling and equal opportunity and alternatives to the present system of schooling. Carnoy's essay 'Educational Change: Past and Present' is a particularly good analysis of schooling and income distribution. This essay is a must for those grappling with the issue of the school's role in societal reform.

Carnoy, M. 'Education, industrial democracy and the state'. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, vol. 2, 1981, pp. 243–60.
Carnoy uses a Gramscian analysis to clarify misconceptions about the effects worker control struggles may or may not have on a larger process of social change. Gramsci's views on education are discussed as the roles of political parties in the process of change.

Cusick, P. *Inside High School: The Student's World*. Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York, 1973.
Cusick describes the behaviour of a small number of students in a public high school. He found that there are a number of mutually reinforcing socio-cultural characteristics in the high school that combine to create and define the environment in which students act. The intended effects of these characteristics are that students are massed, are denied freedom and are undifferentiated. The unintended effects are that there is little student-teacher interaction, little student involvement in formal activities, a fragmentation of educational experience and student concern for the routine, rules and regulations of the school, rather than the assimilation of knowledge.

Entwistle, H. *Antonio Gramsci: Conservative Schooling for Radical Politics*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1979.
This book argues that school are not the places for radical, counter-hegemonic education; adult education is. Entwistle deals with Gramsci's views on the curriculum and in particular his notion of the development of autonomous, rational human beings through education. There are interesting perspectives on the roles of teachers and students and there is criticism of current teacher education courses.

Horvat, B. 'Ethical foundations of self-government'. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1980, pp. 1–19.
Horvat provides an excellent analysis of the values underlying industrial democracy. He discusses the three roles people play in society if they are to have equal chances, namely: equality of producers, equality of consumers, and equality of citizens.

Isherwood, G. B., & Hoy, W.K. 'Bureaucracy, powerlessness and teacher work values'. *The Journal of Educational Administration*, vol. 11, no. 1, May 1973, pp. 124–38.
This study examined teachers' sense of powerlessness within two distinctive school organisational structures. The authors contrasted hierarchical and collective decision making school climates. They concluded that teachers in authoritarian schools have a greater sense of powerlessness.

Kemmis, S., Cole, P., & Suggett, D., *Towards a Socially-Critical School*, Victorian Institute of Secondary Education, Melbourne, 1983.
This important monograph was prepared within the Victorian Institute of Secondary Education initially to assist an internal working party to probe the relationships between curriculum and transition. It has received recognition throughout Australia because it puts forward a model of the kind of school many educational reformers believe would best meet the needs of Australian students. There is also a good analysis of orientations to curriculum.

Levin, H.M. *Education and Work*. Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance, Program Report No.82-138, Stanford University, 1982.
In this paper Levin provides a contemporary view on the connections between education and work, including an explanation for the organisational and substantive similarities between work places and schools. Of particular interest is the section which proposed reforms for both education and the work place.

Lortie, D.C. *Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1975.
Lortie looks at the recruitment, education and socialisation of teachers and concludes that they encourage maintenance of the status quo and conformity. He looks at prospects for change in teachers' behaviour by giving them greater participation in decision-making in schools.

Stavrianos, L.S. *The Promise of the Coming Dark Age*. W. H. Freeman & Company, San Francisco, 1976.
Stavrianos advocates self-management in all phases of life and sees the demand for self-management growing. He discusses changes in working life in Europe, the U. S., Scandinavia and Israel. The book also discusses whether schools can make a difference to life chances.

White, D., Hannan, B., Blackburn, J., & Ashendon, D. *A Case For A Common Curriculum*. Discussion Paper, Department of Education and Youth Affairs, Canberra, 1984.
This is an important paper written by educationists with a policy perspective. The authors describe their task as more people getting more out of schooling. They are not proposing a change to alternative schools or radical institutions, but rather to the everyday problem in the classroom and how to get kids from very different pasts and futures to get meaning from the same things. A similar version of the paper was published in *The Australian Teacher*, February, 1984.

Wynne, E.A. 'Behind the discipline problem: Youth suicide as a measure of alienation', *Phi Delta Kappan*, vol. 59, no. 5, January 1978, pp. 307-15.
Wynne states that Americans are failing to integrate the individual and his social institutions. He examines the disintegrating effects of modern formal education, discusses the consequences of youth alienation and suggests what correctives educators might apply. There are responses to the paper by five others in this same edition.

About the author

Hugh Watson is the Principal Executive Officer in Evaluation and Research in the A. C. T. Schools Authority. He was previously Private Secretary to the Minister for Education and Youth Affairs. He has taught at primary and secondary levels and has been a Lecturer in Education at the Canberra College of Advanced Education and Griffith University. He completed his Ph.D at the University of Oregon in 1982, his dissertation topic being 'Industrial democracy in schools'. His main interests are organisational theory, economic and industrial democracy and educational policy.

Acknowledgments

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